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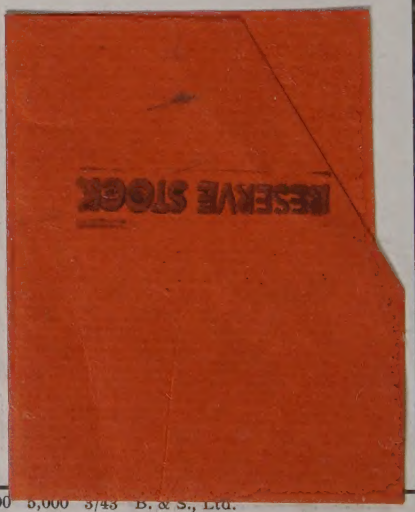

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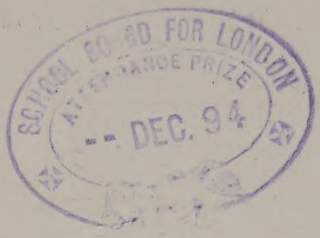

PREFACE.

THE scope of this work is limited. It is confined to a description of the actions fought by the British Fleet, in line-of-battle, on the ocean. All encounters between single ships or small squadrons have been omitted, and would in themselves afford matter for another volume. The story is a proud one, and none can gainsay the fact that, perhaps, no military force in the world's history can point to such a record of almost unbroken victory as the British Navy. This glorious Service holds a position of superiority as unquestioned as ever did the legions of Rome in her palmiest days. Vainly (save in Byng's case) may the pages of our naval history be searched to find an instance of failure on the part of a British fleet to defeat an enemy of equal force, or to repulse the attack of a foe unless in overwhelming superiority, while flight under any adverse circumstances was almost unknown. The traditions of the Navy of England, from the days of Drake to those of Nelson, forbade such a humiliation of the proud flag in the presence of which those of other nationalities were struck when encountered afloat.

The term, "Mistress of the Seas," was no figure

of speech or empty boast, such as that applied by Philip of Spain to his vast Armada. It was an undeniable historical fact, a claim to which was arrogated at the commencement of a war with any naval power and established at its close without the possibility of dispute. This being so, and our very existence as a free country being dependent on the maintenance of our maritime supremacy, even the most peace-loving of our people are agreed on the necessity of maintaining the Navy at a condition of superiority over at least any two European maritime states. These pages will tell the story of the defeat of these powers on the high seas, ending with Trafalgar; but scarcely less glorious are the triumphs our seamen have won over the minor naval states, from Turkey at Navarino, and the bombardments of Algiers, Acre, and Alexandria, to the destruction of the fleets and flotillas of China and Burmah, and the extinction of piracy and the slave trade, in which the heroism of the British sailor was as manifest, though displayed on a more distant and obscure arena, than in the general engagements in European waters on which the eyes of the world were concentrated. It is an inheritance of glory such as no other nation can boast, and honour and duty alike demand that we should hand it down, unbroken by defeat, to future generations. May this brief epitome assist in arousing a determination among our youth to maintain the British birthright!

C. R. LOW.

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ENGLAND'S SEA VICTORIES.

CHAPTER I.

The British Navy—The First Victory at Sea since the Norman Conquest—Defeat of the French—Battle of Sluys—Capture and Relief of Harfleur—Death of Sir Edward Howard—Sir Thomas Howard and the Scotch Pirate, Sir Andrew Barton—Defeat of the Spanish Armada—Sir Francis Drake at Cadiz and Vigo—Death of Sir Richard Grenville and Sir Martin Frobisher—Exploit of Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Monson at Coimbra—Lord Howard of Effingham, Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh.

ENGLAND'S proudest boast is her navy, which has never yet met its conqueror on the sea. Our naval supremacy is not only our most cherished honour, but is also a necessity of our existence. With it is bound up not only the retention of India and our Colonial Empire, but the freedom of these islands and the welfare of our people. Our statesmen are alive to this fact, and all classes are unanimous that the navy must be maintained at a strength equal to any two Great Powers. Many people there are who grudge the expenditure on the army, but foolish

would be thought the person either in or out of Parliament who advocated a reduction of the annual vote for the naval service.

Shakespeare, who speaks little of our navy, in one memorable passage describes with enthusiastic admiration the appearance presented by our—

> "Brave fleet
> With silken streamers the young Phœbus fanning."

When writing of the departure of the army of Henry V. for France, before Agincourt placed the crown and kingdom at his disposal, the national poet says :—

> "Play with your fancies, and in them behold,
> Upon the hempen tackle, ship-boys climbing;
> Hear the shrill whistle, which does order give
> To sounds confused; behold the threaden sails,
> Borne with the invisible and creeping wind,
> Draw the huge bottoms through the furrowed sea,
> Breasting the lofty surge."

We will pass over the naval actions before the Norman Conquest, as the accounts are either meagre or apocryphal, and will refer to the first great victory gained by our fleet, which took place in the reign of that great and warlike prince, Edward I. This monarch was alive to the necessity of making England strong and respected at sea, and accordingly employed his energies in strengthening his fleet. When as Prince Edward he went crusading in the Holy Land, in the reign of his father, the ships-of-

war that carried him and his army only consisted of 13 sail, manned with 1,000 seaman, but he repaired King Henry's neglect by building ships to contest the sovereignty of the Channel with the French.

For many years before the year 1295 the sailors of the Cinque Ports were in the habit of fighting those from the French coast whenever they met them, and at length the feud between the rival mariners rose to a pitch of the most envenomed exasperation. The French strung up some Englishmen, who had fallen into their hands, by the side of dogs to emphasize their hate, and not to be outdone, our sailors entered their harbours, seized some ships, and carried them off in triumph after throwing their crews overboard. At length both parties resolved to put the superiority each claimed to the test, and a battle was arranged to be fought in mid-channel.

The 14th of April was the day named, and the event came off as stipulated. The Irish and Dutch seamen assisted the English, and the French had for allies a squadron from Genoa, which was at that time a powerful maritime state. The result of the conflict was a complete victory for the English fleet, and it is said that 240 vessels were captured. But these craft were easily built, and by the close of the following year the French were at sea once more with 300 sail, with which they made a descent on the

Kentish coast, and burnt Dover, for which our countrymen retaliated by burning Cherbourg.

The English marine suffered a decline in the reign of Edward II., but his successor was a prince of martial tendencies, and to enforce his claim to the throne of France he built a navy as well as levied an army. The latter gained the victories of Cressy and Poictiers, and the former the almost equally memorable success in the port of Sluys, lying at the entrance of the Scheldt. King Edward sailed to the coast of Flanders, and sent Lord Cobham to reconnoitre the French fleet, then lying to the number of 400 sail in the capacious harbour of Sluys. On his return he gave the monarch particulars of the strength and disposition of the hostile fleet, on which we are told Edward exclaimed: "Well, by the assistance of God and St. George, I will now revenge all the wrongs I have received." Edward ordered the battle himself, directing his ships to be drawn up in two lines; the first consisting of vessels of the greatest force, so ranged that, between two ships filled with archers, there was one wherein were men-at-arms, the ships in the wings being also manned with archers. The second line he used as a reserve, and drew from thence reinforcements as they became necessary. The battle lasted from eight in the morning till seven at night, and even after this there was a second encounter, for 30 French ships endeavouring to escape in the

dark, the English attacked them under the command of the Earl of Huntingdon, and took the *James*, of Dieppe, and sunk several others. The King of England behaved with equal courage and skill throughout the whole fight, giving his orders in person, and moving, as occasion required, from place to place. The French fleet were well provided with arms and ammunition, and abundance of machines for throwing stones, with which they did a great deal of mischief; but they were less dexterous in managing their ships than the English, and this seems to have been the chief cause of their defeat.

The victory, however, cost the English much loss of life, for a large ship and a galley belonging to Hull were sunk, with all on board, by volleys of stones; and in another ship which carried the king's wardrobe there were but two of the crew who escaped. In all, the English lost about 4,000 men, and amongst them the following knights—Sir Thomas Mortimer, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Boteler, and Sir Thomas Poinings. On the whole, it appears to have been a very hard-fought battle; and the victory was entirely due to the skill and courage of the English sailors, who were more adroit in working their ships, as the men-at-arms were more ready in boarding than the French; and the archers, also, did excellent service.

In the memorable year 1346, King Edward em-

barked the army of 30,000 foot and 2,500 horse, which achieved the victory of Cressy, in a fleet of 1,000 vessels, a fact which speaks for the maritime proclivities of the English people. At the famous siege of Calais, while the army lay eleven months before that town, a fleet of 738 sail, manned by 14,956 mariners, blockaded it by sea. Of these all but 38 were English, the remainder belonging to foreigners.

Three years after the capture of Calais, we find that our seamen gained the first success over the Spanish marine in revenge for an act of treacherous cruelty, by which a Spanish squadron destroyed some English vessels lying at Bordeaux, engaged in peaceful commercial pursuits, and murdered the crews. King Edward collected about 50 ships-of-war at Sandwich to waylay some rich Spanish merchantmen on their return from Flanders. With the king were the Black Prince and a number of his great lords and peers of distinction. The Spanish fleet of 44 sail was encountered off Winchelsea, and after a long and stubborn fight, 24 of them were captured, and the rest took to flight.

In Henry V.'s reign took place the expedition to Harfleur, to which we have already alluded, which resulted in the victory of Agincourt. In order to transport his army the king hired ships from Holland, which, together with those supplied by the Cinque Ports, rendezvoused at Southampton to the

number of 1,600 sail. After the defeat at Agincourt the French made an effort to retake Harfleur, by land and sea. The place was gallantly held by the Earl of Dorset, but was reduced to such straits that it must have fallen had not an English fleet of 400 sail, having on board 20,000 men, effected its relief under command of the king's brother, the Duke of Bedford.

In 1417, two years after Agincourt, the Earl of Huntingdon put to sea with a strong squadron, and utterly defeated the combined fleets of France and Genoa, though in superior force, and captured four large Genoese ships. In all these events it appears that, from a period extending back five centuries and more, the naval superiority of England, though often challenged, was never overthrown. Whether the enemies encountered by our sailors were French, Spaniards, Genoese or Dutch, the result was ever the same. And as it was in the time of our early kings, so it was in that long and sanguinary struggle with all the maritime powers of Europe in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

No naval battle of importance took place till the reign of Henry VIII., when Sir Thomas Knivet lost his life, and Sir Edward Howard, the first to hold the office of Lord High Admiral of England, was drowned. Howard's fleet consisted of 45 sail, and he attacked the French squadron near the harbour of Brest.

Sir Thomas Knivet, who commanded the *Regent*, attacked the *Cordelier*, the huge flagship of the French admiral, having on board 900 men. The action was maintained on either side with great obstinacy, but at length both ships caught fire and were destroyed, together with the crews, numbering in all upwards of 1,600 men. The combatants parted after the catastrophe, without achieving any decisive result on either side, but in the following April, Sir Edward Howard passed over to Brest with 42 sail, and blockaded the French fleet. A reinforcement of six galleys arrived from the Mediterranean for the French admiral, and took shelter in the Bay of Conquet. Determining to destroy these, Sir Edward Howard embarked some picked men in two galleys, in one of which he went himself, with Sir Thomas Cheyne and Sir John Wallop, while in the other Lord Ferrers and two other gallant knights proceeded. Sailing up the bay, the Lord High Admiral with his own galley attacked that of the French admiral, which he grappled. Followed by 17 men, Sir Edward Howard boarded the enemy, but in the *mêlée* the vessels parted, when the French forced the English seamen on the decks over the side into the water, where many were drowned, including the gallant Howard. Lord Ferrers did his utmost to retrieve the disaster, but was compelled to retire, and so the affray ended disastrously for our countrymen.

A writer of that time says that the admiral, when he found the French fleet in Brest harbour, was so certain of a successful issue to the attempt he purposed to make to destroy them, that he wrote to King Henry VIII., inviting him to undertake the task, so that he might reap the glory attaching to its successful execution. But Henry was more at home in such pageants as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold" than in the rough work of actual war, and, whether by his own action or that of his council, as the contemporary writer in question declares, the offer was declined, with an intimation to Sir Edward Howard to do his duty. This so nettled the gallant admiral, who had a saying that "a seaman never did good who was not resolute to a degree of madness," that he conducted in person the rash enterprise in which he sacrificed his life, thus putting in execution his famous maxim. When he found his galley had sheered off and that death was imminent, the Lord High Admiral took his chain of gold nobles, which he had about his neck, and his great gold whistle, the ensign of his office, and threw them into the sea, to prevent the enemy from possessing the spoils of an English admiral.

This famous officer was younger brother to Sir Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Surrey and Duke of Norfolk, also an admiral in the Royal Navy, who commanded the van of the English army at Flodden,

on the 8th September, 1513, when King James IV. of Scotland, with the flower of his nobility, fell in battle.

Sir Thomas Howard, two years before this event, hearing of the depredations of a Scotch seaman named Sir Andrew Barton, who, with two ships, the *Lion* and *Jenny Perwin*, ravaged the English coasts, engaged with his brother, Sir Edward Howard, to capture the piratical vessels. The brothers set sail with two ships, but being separated by a storm, Sir Thomas Howard sighted, when alone, the *Lion*, and brought her to action. The fight was long and doubtful, and Barton, who was as brave as skilful, made a determined resistance, and encouraged his men with a boatswain's whistle until he was slain. But when they lost their leader the crew of the *Lion* surrendered, and were accorded quarter. In the meantime Sir Edward Howard engaged and captured her consort, and both the ships, whose aggregate surviving crews only numbered 150 men, were brought up the Thames on the 2nd August, 1511, as trophies of the victory they had achieved.

When his gallant younger brother was slain, Sir Thomas Howard, who had just returned from an expedition in company with Lord Dorset, succeeded him in the office of Lord High Admiral, and forthwith sailed to avenge his death; and we are told that "Sir Thomas scoured the sea so that not a bark

of the French nation durst appear." The Earl of Surrey, as he now was, commanded-in-chief the united fleets of Henry and the Emperor Charles V., consisting of 180 ships, which ravaged the coast of Normandy, and took Morlaix, besides conveying the English forces that invaded Picardy. Lord Surrey embarked the Emperor Charles on his return to Spain from his visit to London, and landed him at St. Andero in Biscay.

The next great naval event in our history was the defeat of the Spanish Armada. In 1578, as appears from records of that date, the Royal Navy consisted of only 24 ships of all sizes, of which the *Triumph*, of 1,000 tons, was the largest, and the *George*, under 60 tons, the smallest. Throughout all England at this time, the ships of 100 tons and upwards numbered only 135, and between that tonnage and 40 tons there were 656. The *Triumph* had a complement of 780 men, of whom 450 were seamen, 50 gunners, and 280 soldiers. Among the ships of the navy at that time we find some who have representatives at the present day. Thus there were the *Victory*, of 800 tons and 500 men, of whom 330 were sailors; the *Dreadnought*, of 400 tons and a complement of 250, including 150 "mariners"; and among others of smaller size, the *Lion*, *Swiftsure*, *Antelope*, *Swallow*, and *Tiger*.

When Queen Elizabeth and her advisers discovered

that King Philip II. of Spain was preparing a vast expedition to subvert the liberties of England, permission was given for the fitting out of privateers to cruise in the West Indies to cut off the treasure ships, and Sir Francis Drake was sent, in 1587, to Cadiz, where he forced six galleys, designed to protect the port, to take shelter under the forts, and burned 100 sail in the bay, all laden with ammunition, stores, and provisions. Then Drake sailed for the Tagus, and challenged the Marquis de Santa Cruz, esteemed one of the most experienced seamen of the time, who had fought at Lepanto, to come out and fight him. But the Spanish admiral declined the honour, whereupon Drake burnt everything on the coast, afloat or ashore, on which he could lay his hands, and steered for the Azores, where he took a large ship homeward bound with treasure from the West Indies, which added to his purse as much as his exploit at Cadiz had increased his reputation. The success he had achieved delayed the despatch of the Armada till the spring of the following year, when it rendezvoused at Lisbon.

By a description printed in Latin, it appears that "the most happy Armada," as it was officially styled—not "invincible," as has often been stated—consisted of 130 ships, of an aggregate tonnage of 57,868, on board of which were 19,295 soldiers, 8,450 seamen, and 2,088 slaves, and that the arma-

THE ARMADA

ment was 630 pieces of cannon. Besides these warships there was a large fleet of tenders, with immense stores of arms, intended for those who should assist them in restoring the supremacy of the Pope, and 180 monks of various orders had been embarked to complete the spiritual conquest of England. As the Marquis of Santa Cruz had meanwhile died, the command of this vast expedition was conferred on the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and as adviser in nautical matters, of which the Duke was entirely ignorant, Martinez de Ricalde was associated with him.

The fleet destined for the invasion of England would have been still stronger had it not been that the Government of the Queen had addressed communications to the Courts of Europe, pointing out the danger that threatened them were the designs of the Spanish monarch to succeed, and the result of this politic move was to detach a large squadron of Danish ships hired for the use of the Armada; and even the Hanse Towns, though inimical to England, retarded the despatch of a contingent of ships for those ports. King James VI. of Scotland and the French afforded no aid to the Spaniards, and the Dutch rendered us timely help by fitting out a strong squadron, under the command of the Count of Nassau.

The English fleet was commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, with Sir

Francis Drake as Vice-Admiral, and Sir John Hawkins Rear-Admiral. These two experienced and brave officers lay off the Channel coast to the north-west, and Lord Henry Seymour cruised with the Dutch fleet on the shore of Flanders in order to prevent the Duke of Parma from making a descent with the army under his command. The great Armada sailed from Lisbon towards the middle of May, 1588, but the ships being separated by foul weather off Cape Finisterre, rendezvoused at Corunna, a delay which proved fatal to whatever chance of success they might originally have anticipated. It was not until the 12th July that the expedition again sailed, and the first English land they sighted was the Lizard, on the 20th of that month. As for the ships of the English fleet, owing to the season being far advanced and the absence of any information regarding the whereabout or movements of the Spaniards, they had returned to port, and several of them were even laid up and the crews discharged. Great, then, was the excitement when the Armada appeared actually in sight off Plymouth, and the scene is historical in which Sir Francis Drake is represented as playing at bowls at the time he received intimation of the advent of the long-expected fleet, but which, so far from disconcerting that stout seaman, only drew from him the remark that they must finish their game before settling accounts with the rash would-be

invaders of their country, by which remark he doubtless wished to reassure the people and prevent any panic. But though the gallant Drake, from his previous experience of the Spanish race, had no high opinion of their valour and skill in seamanship, the danger that menaced the country was real enough to cause anxiety at least in the minds of her sons. True it was that the Queen's Government had concentrated three armies for its protection, one of 20,000 men cantoned on the south-west coast, another of 22,000 foot and 1,000 horse near Tilbury, and a third of 34,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry as a guard for her Majesty's person. But to the fleet the people of England looked in this emergency, and it proved itself equal to the task.

Lord Howard, with his flag on board the *Ark Royal*, put to sea immediately with 67 ships, and on the following day, the 20th July, 1588, the Spanish fleet was observed sailing up mid-Channel, in half-moon formation, the extremity of its wings being nearly seven miles apart. On passing the English squadron, the latter attacked the Spanish rear, when much disorder ensued. During the following night Sir Francis Drake captured a galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, having on board much treasure, which was plundered by the sailors, and the vessel was sent into Torbay. The fighting continued on the succeeding days while the hostile fleet slowly made its

way up Channel, the result, such as there was, being all to the advantage of the aggressors. Meantime the English had nearly expended all their ammunition, but received a further supply, while men of quality, such as Sir Walter Raleigh, Lords Oxford, Northumberland and Cumberland, the Cecils and others joined with ships they had fitted out at their own expense. On the 25th, a Spanish ship was taken, but under the influence of a fair wind the Duke of Medina Sidonia was enabled to anchor in Calais Roads with his fleet in a condition that rendered it a formidable enemy.

At the suggestion of Sir William Winter, recourse was now had to fire-ships, and the experiment met with complete success. Converting eight of his least seaworthy vessels into fire-ships, which were loaded with all sorts of combustibles, Lord Howard about midnight despatched them, under the command of Captains Young and Prowse, into the thick of the Spanish fleet. As soon as they were set on fire, a scene of the wildest confusion ensued, and the vast armament made sail, each captain straining every nerve to elude the dreaded fire-ships. The Spanish fleet were overtaken near Gravelines, where they were attacked with impetuosity, each English ship selecting a Spanish antagonist. The *St. Matthew* and another ship were captured, and three others were sunk, and had it not been for want of ammunition,

the whole of "the happy Armada" would have been annihilated. As it was, most of them were crippled and some drifted helplessly on the Flemish coast. In despair some commanders set sail, intending to repass the Straits of Dover, but this endeavour was frustrated owing to a change of wind. The Spanish commander-in-chief convened a council of war, to consider the situation and advise him as to the best course to pursue, when it was resolved that the grand design of conquering England should be abandoned, and every endeavour made to save as many ships as possible. Accordingly, the fleet took the course of "north about," or returning to Spain by the north coast of Scotland, and Howard, having directed Lord Henry Seymour to cruise off the coast of Zeeland with a strong squadron to intercept them should they double back to join the Duke of Parma, left the beaten and crestfallen Armada to pursue its course unmolested.

Ultimately about 25 ships, under the commander-in-chief, made its way to the Bay of Biscay, but out of 40 sail, under the command of the vice-admiral, over 30 were wrecked in a great storm on the coast of Ireland, on the 2nd September, and all their crews, to the number of some thousands of men, were drowned. Some vessels were driven into the English Channel, where they were taken by the English or French seamen, and others were lost off the Hebrides and on the coast of Argyllshire. Of the crews of these

last about 500 were brought, in a destitute condition, to Edinburgh, whence they were dispatched in a vessel to their native land. But misfortune pursued them. The ship was overtaken by a storm and obliged to put in at Yarmouth, where they were kept in durance until the Queen and Council, commiserating their manifold miseries, suffered them to continue their voyage to Spain. Thus of this fleet of 130 ships, which it had taken three years to fit out, only 53 or 54 returned, and it was computed that 20,000 men perished in the expedition.

Round the story of the Armada a great deal of fable has accumulated, due partly to national or religious prejudice. There were sufficient causes of quarrel on the one side in the privateering of English ships, and in the assistance given to the revolted Netherlands, and on the other to the cruel usage of English prisoners, and in the complicity of the King of Spain in plots against the Queen's sovereignty and life. The numbers, the comparative size, and, above all, the armament of this great fleet have been much exaggerated by common report. Between the largest Spanish and the largest English ships there was no appreciable difference in tonnage, though the Spanish ships, from their lofty poops and forecastles, looked bigger. These unwieldy erections, which gave them an advantage in hand-to-hand fighting, were otherwise much to their disadvantage, as for them to go to

windward was impossible, and in a moderate breeze they heeled over in a manner at once awkward and dangerous.

The most extraordinary exaggeration has been in the weight of their ordnance. It now appears, both from Spanish records and from our own state papers, that the armament of the Spanish ships was not only not greater than ours, but was much smaller; that, to take one instance, the *Capitana,* of Pedro de Valdez, of 1,150 tons, one of the largest and most powerful ships in the fleet, threw a broadside of about 195 pounds. After she was captured she was sent into Torbay, where an exact inventory of her guns and stores was taken, and we have thus positive knowledge of her armament. On the other hand the English *Triumph,* of the same size, threw a broadside of more than 400 pounds. And even the English ships of 500 tons, such as the *Defiance, Lion,* and *Nonpareil,* threw a broadside of more than 250 pounds. Going lower in the scale, many of the Spanish ships of 600 or 700 tons had little or no effective armament, and were certainly inferior to our ships of 200 tons, as long as they were kept at a distance. The Spanish tactics were to close and board; but that, from their inferiority of sailing, especially on a wind, they could not do. Counting the opposing force on these lines, the Spanish brought into the Channel about 62 effective ships, exclusive of four galeases.

Three of the commoner sort and one of the galeases they lost before the 29th of July, the day of the great fight off Gravelines, so that in the decisive battle the Spaniards mustered 59 ships and three galeases, against 49 English ships of over 200 tons.

A writer, quoted by Campbell, whose account of the victory is thoroughly reliable from the trouble he took to collate all sources of contemporary information, asserts that the reason Lord Howard suffered the Spanish fleet to escape from Gravelines was an insufficiency of ammunition. Campbell places the strength of the English fleet which effected this great deliverance, at 143 ships in all. Of these 17 only were men-of-war, and 12 hired by the Queen for this special service, and of the remainder the City of London furnished 16 ships, double the number requisitioned, which were manned and provided with ammunition and provisions; three were furnished by Bristol, three by Barnstaple, two by Exeter, seven by Plymouth, "stout ships, every way equal to the Queen's men-of-war;" 43 were fitted out at the expense of the nobility, gentry, and others, and 10 by the "merchant adventurers." In these numbers were not included 16 ships-of-war and hired vessels, under the command of Lord Henry Seymour, for service in "the narrow seas," and a few tenders and store-ships.

Froude, in his recently-published "Spanish Story

of the Armada," has given the enemy's account of the great disaster, and it is instructive and, at times, amusing reading.* It is clear from the authentic history of Captain Fernandez Duro, which is compiled from contemporary documents only lately rendered accessible to students, and which Mr. Froude has made the basis of his own narrative, that the Armada

* King Philip's belief in the special interposition of Providence on his behalf received no shock even when disaster had overcome the enterprise on which he had set his heart, and to effect which he had employed all the resources at his disposal. When the remnant of the proud Armada returned discomfited to the shores of Spain, he penned the following letter to the prelates of his realm :

"Most Reverend,—The uncertainties of naval enterprises are well known, and the fate which has befallen the Armada is an instance in point. You will have already heard that the Duke of Medina Sidonia has returned to Santander, bringing back with him part of the fleet. Others of the ships have reached various ports, some of them having suffered severely from their long and arduous voyage. We are bound to give praise to God for all things which He is pleased to do. I on the present occasion have given thanks to Him for the mercy which He has shown. In the foul weather and violent storms to which the Armada has been exposed, it might have experienced a worse fate ; and that the misfortune has not been heavier is no doubt due to the prayers which have been offered in its behalf so devoutly and continuously.

"These prayers must have entailed serious expense and trouble on those who have conducted them. I wish you, therefore, all to understand that while I am, so far, well pleased with your exertions, they may now cease. You may wind up in the cathedrals and churches of your diocese with a solemn thanksgiving mass on any day which you may appoint, and for the future I desire all ecclesiastics and other devout persons to continue to commend my actions to the Lord in their secret devotions, that He may so direct them as shall be for His own service, the exaltation of His Church, the welfare and safety of Christendom, which are the objects always before me.

"From the Escurial, October 13th, 1588."

was doomed to failure from the outset. It was ill equipped in every essential respect, and though superior in numbers, was inferior in gunnery and seamanship to the enemy it was destined to encounter, while its commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, was irresolute to a degree, and being devoid of confidence in himself, inspired none among his subordinates.

In 1589, the year following the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the English Government delivered their counter-stroke by despatching an expedition to Spain under the joint command of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris, "who, with their friends, adventured £50,000," and the Earl of Essex, who led the troops. The Queen furnished six men-of-war and £60,000, and the rest of the expense was defrayed by London, the Cinque Ports, Ipswich, Harwich, Newcastle, and other towns; the whole fleet provided numbering 146 sail, exclusive of a small Dutch squadron.

The first place plundered and burnt was Corunna, then called the Groyne, and thence the expedition proceeded to Lisbon, the ostensible object being to assist Antonio to recover the throne of Portugal. The troops were landed and marched towards Lisbon, but Sir Francis Drake, who contented himself with taking the castle at the entrance of the Tagus, and seizing 60 vessels belonging to the Hanse Towns

laden with corn and ammunition, failed to put in an appearance off the capital, alleging the danger of the navigation. The troops were therefore re-embarked, and the expedition returned to England, having on its way plundered Vigo, after an absence of ten months. Though great damage was caused to Spain, much dissatisfaction was expressed in England at the barren results attained, but still year after year similar raiding expeditions left for the shores of Spain and the group of islands subject to King Philip in the Atlantic, whence much plunder was removed by Lord Cumberland, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir John Burrows, as well as Sir Francis Drake, who committed depredations on Spanish commerce in the West Indies.

We will not enlarge here on the memorable defence of his ship, the *Revenge*, by Sir Richard Grenville, which has been immortalised by Lord Tennyson. Suffice it to say that, being surrounded at the Azores by 50 Spanish ships, he sold his life dear, and the *Revenge* was the only ship of the Royal Navy taken by the enemy in the war. Grenville sank two Spanish ships alongside, and so battered was the *Revenge* when she surrendered that she foundered at sea with 200 Spaniards on board, and as for the gallant vice-admiral, he died two days after of his wounds. Brief mention should also be made of the capture, in 1594, of Brest, which the Spaniards had

taken from the French, by a combined military and naval force, commanded by Sir John Norris and Sir Martin Frobisher, when the latter great seaman died of wounds he had received in the assault of the fort.

Two years later an expedition on a vast scale was undertaken against Cadiz. The fleet consisted of 126 vessels, of which some only were ships-of-war, under the command of Howard, the Lord High Admiral, with whom were associated Sir Walter Raleigh and other officers of distinction, and the troops embarked numbered 7,000 men, led by Lord Essex. On reaching Cadiz the commanders disagreed, but at length Lord Howard attacked the Spanish fleet in the port, consisting of 49 ships, which fled up the bay, where some were captured and the rest were burnt. Sir Walter Raleigh greatly distinguished himself on this occasion, but owing to the incompetence and presumption of Lord Essex, the military successes achieved were not equal to those attained by the fleet. After holding the forts of Cadiz for a fortnight, they abandoned the place for want of provisions and ammunition, and returned to England with two galleons, 100 guns, and immense booty, "the desire for keeping which is conceived," says an old writer, "to have hindered them from performing more."

In 1597, a conjoint expedition was undertaken by Lord Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, but the chief

success achieved, the capture of Fayal, was the work of Raleigh alone, which caused a coolness between them which developed into rancorous hatred on the part of Lord Essex towards his celebrated colleague.

Two years before this event, the Royal Navy had lost, perhaps, its most distinguished admiral, till Robert Blake appeared, in the death of Drake. In 1594, in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, he undertook an expedition against Nombre de Dios, in Central America; but Hawkins died on the 21st November in the following year, as was said of chagrin at the capture of a small vessel of his by five Spanish ships. On the 13th of the same month Drake had made an attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto Rico, which caused great loss to the enemy but small advantage to him, as he was forced to sheer off, the fortifications being too strong. He then steered for the Spanish Main and took and burnt Nombre de Dios, as the inhabitants refused to ransom the place. On the 29th December a force marched to capture Panama, but returned unsuccessful, which so preyed on Drake's mind that it brought on a fever of which he died on the 28th January, 1596, at the age of fifty.

Even after the death of this inveterate enemy of the Spanish, expeditions sailed almost yearly for their shores, and in 1598 Lord Cumberland plundered the Canary Islands and took Porto Rico, in the West

Indies, which he was forced, however, by disease among his men to abandon.

The year 1602, the last of Elizabeth's reign, Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Monson made memorable by an attack on a galleon and eleven galleys, which lay in Coimbra roads, one of the most gallant exploits achieved in the war. The guns of the galleon, which was moored close to the shore, bore on a fort and the walls of the town, and the galleys by their fire commanded the approach from the sea. Yet in spite of these and other advantages Sir Richard Levison resolved to attack them, and at two in the morning of the 3rd June, with a fresh gale blowing, he made the signal for close action, and with the vice-admiral, Sir William Monson, attacked the galleys with such fury that several of them surrendered and were burnt, while the castle was also captured, as well as the galleon, which had a vast amount of treasure on board. On the following day, the wind being fair, the squadron set sail on its return to England. Spinola, who had escaped with six galleys, steered for the coast of Flanders, and on the 23rd September was sighted by Sir Robert Mansel, who was cruising there with two ships-of-war and four Dutch vessels to intercept him. After a long chase two of the galleys were sunk and one was lost on the coast near Calais, but Spinola succeeded in reaching Sluys in safety with the remaining three. In the

following year this famous Spanish officer was killed in an engagement with the Dutch.

The Sir Robert Mansel here referred to was previously, it appears, a menial servant to Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England, and when that distinguished seaman, at the solicitation of James I., resigned the post in favour of the king's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, Mansel was made a vice-admiral. The duke was advised by a council of naval officers of experience, and it is mentioned to his credit that, by reforms and economies introduced by him into the administration of the Royal Navy, he reduced the ordinary expenditure on the fleet from £54,000 to £30,000 a year, truly a ridiculous sum, as it appears to us in our day. The parsimonious king doubtless regarded this thriftiness as the chief qualification for any one holding office in his service, but how far it was consonant with efficiency we are not told, and as the kingdom was not involved in war in his reign, the point was never put to the test.

Lord Howard of Effingham, or Earl of Nottingham, as he became, died on the 14th December, 1624, at the age of 88. He is described as "a person extremely graceful in his appearance, of a just and honest disposition." It is added that Elizabeth knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his conduct to the "policy" of some of her favourites.

Sir Richard Hawkins—speaking of the most remarkable incident in the life of the Lord High Admiral, the defeat of the Armada, in which his father, Sir John Hawkins, was engaged as rear-admiral on board the *Victory*—said of this fine old seaman: "Worthy of perpetual memory was the prudent policy and government of our English navy in anno 1588, by the worthy Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, who in the like case, with pure and experimental knowledge, patiently withstood the instigations of many courageous and noble captains who would have persuaded him to have laid them aboard, but when he foresaw that the enemy had an army aboard, he none, that they exceeded him in number of shipping, and those greater in bulk, stronger built, and higher moulded, so that they, who with such advantage fought from above, might easily distress all opposition below, the slaughter, peradventure, proving more fatal than the victory profitable; by being overthrown he would have hazarded the kingdom, whereas by the conquest (at most), he could have boasted of nothing but glory and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance he always advantaged himself of wind and tide, which was the freedom of our country, and security of our navy, with the destruction of theirs, which in the eye of the ignorant (who judge all things by the external appearance) seemed invincible, but truly considered, was much inferior to ours in all things of

substance, as the event proved; for we sank, spoiled, and took many of them, and they diminished of ours but one small pinnace, nor any man of name save Captain Cocke, who died with honour amidst his company. The greatest damage that, as I remember, they caused to any of our ships, was to the *Swallow* of Her Majesty's, which I had in that action under my charge, with an arrow of fire, shot into her beak-head, which we saw not because of the sails, till it had burnt a hole in the side as big as a man's head; the arrow falling out, and driving along by the ship's side made us doubt of it, which, after, we discovered."

Lord Howard's vice-admiral on that occasion, Sir Francis Drake, owed his early maintenance, according to Campbell, to his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, who was his junior in rank at the defeat of the Armada. This painstaking and veracious author says: "I find that he was the son of one Edmund Drake, an honest sailor, and born near Tavistock in the year 1545, being the eldest of twelve brethren, and brought up at the expense, and under the care, of his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins. I likewise find that at the age of 18 he was purser of a ship trading to Biscay, that at 20 he made a voyage to Guinea, and at the age of 22 had the honour to be appointed captain of the *Judith*, in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the Gulf of Mexico, where he behaved most gallantly in that glorious action under Sir John Hawkins, and returned

with him to England with a very great reputation, but not with a single groat."

Drake imbibed a great hatred and contempt of the Spanish people, and in March, 1572, sailed from Plymouth in the *Pasha*, of 70 tons, accompanied by the *Swan*, of 25 tons, commanded by his brother John Drake, the united crews numbering only 23 men and boys. With this small force he captured Nombre de Dios and Vera Cruz, where he obtained little booty, but on his return encountered about 50 vessels laden with plate, which he succeeded in carrying off.

Then took place his famous voyage of circumnavigation with five vessels, in which were embarked 164 men. He sailed from Plymouth on the 15th November, 1577, but within six months of leaving England, Drake found himself with only a single ship, that which flew his pennant, the *Pelican*, of 100 tons, which he re-named, in the Pacific, the *Hind*. Drake re-entered the harbour of Plymouth on the 25th September, 1580, and, on the 4th April following, received the honour of knighthood at the Queen's hands on board his ship at Deptford.

Sir Francis Drake conducted an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies in 1585, and three years later proceeded with 30 sail to Cadiz, where he heard King Philip was fitting out a fleet to invade England, and burnt there 10,000 tons of shipping,

and captured at Terceira a richly-laden carrack homeward bound from the East. It is said that the formation of the East India Company, to which is due our acquisition of India, had its origin in the circumstance that on board the carrack were discovered journals, charts, and papers that rendered feasible the navigation of the Indian seas; and one of the last acts of Queen Elizabeth was conferring a charter in the year 1600 on the first company of merchants trading with the East Indies. Without doubt Drake was the greatest seaman the navy of England provided up to that time, and, with the exception of Blake and Nelson, he may, perhaps, be considered unrivalled in our annals, or that of any other country.

Space does not permit us to detail the services of the many other famous seamen of Elizabeth's reign, as Sir John and Sir Richard Hawkins; Cavendish, the second English seaman to circumnavigate the globe; and, more celebrated still, the accomplished scholar, Sir Walter Raleigh, who led the fleet in the attack on Cadiz in the year 1596, with his flag on board the *Warspite*. It was a most remarkable achievement, as the English ships only numbered seven, and that of the enemy 71. The chief honour was undoubtedly due to Raleigh, who drove ashore the Spanish admiral's ship, *St. Philip*, and the *St. Thomas*, which were burnt, and carried off the *St. Matthew*

and *St. Andrew.* All the other ships the Duke of Medina Sidonia caused to be burnt as he could not save them, and vast booty and ransom were obtained. As for Raleigh, who was wounded, all he got, as he himself says, was "a lame leg and deformed; for the rest I either spoke too late, or 'twas otherwise resolved. I have not been wanting in good works, yet had possession of naught but poverty and pain." His execution by James I., at the instigation of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, after he had been confined for fourteen years in the Tower, is one of the most disgraceful incidents in the whole course of English history, and inflicts an indelible stigma on the memory of that monarch.

CHAPTER II.

Admiral Robert Blake—Some Account of his Early Career—His Action with Van Tromp off Dover—Sir George Ayscue's Engagement near Plymouth—Commodore Bodley beats off a Superior Squadron—Loss of Commodore Appleton's Ships—Blake's Defeat of De Ruyter and Tromp in February, 1653—Battle of the 2nd June and Defeat of Tromp—Monk's Decisive Victory of the 31st July and Death of Tromp—Blake Coerces the Dey of Tunis—His Victory at Teneriffe—Death of Blake.

Admiral Robert Blake was undoubtedly the most striking figure in our naval wars since the death of Drake, and no one of our commanders, save Nelson, has left a greater or more enduring name than this seaman of the Commonwealth.

Robert Blake was born in August, 1598, and was educated at Bridgwater Grammar School, and at St. Alban's and Wadham Colleges, at Oxford University, where he stayed seven years, and took a degree. Blake was elected a member of Parliament in 1640, and took the popular side against King Charles I. He joined the Parliamentary army, and in July, 1643, showed his quality as a soldier when holding a fort at Bristol against Prince Rupert. Colonel Blake surprised Taunton in the following year, and held the

place with great obstinacy against General Goring, who was at the head of nearly 10,000 men, for which achievement he received a present of £500 from the Parliament. In April, 1646, Blake reduced Dunston Castle, but this was his last service in the field; and we find the Parliament selecting him to take the supreme command of the fleet, acting conjointly with Deane and Popham, both military officers, of whom the latter had been his colonel when Blake was serving in Somersetshire.

Blake's first service afloat was driving Rupert's fleet from the coast of Ireland, and following him into the Mediterranean, where he first made his name a terror to pirates, and instilled a wholesome fear of the English name into the Spaniards and Portuguese, who had seen little of our navy since the advent of the Stuarts to the throne.

In the month of February, 1651, Blake, while on his return from the Mediterranean, took a French man-of-war of 50 guns under somewhat remarkable circumstances. It is said he summoned the commanding officer on board, and asked him if he would surrender, and on receiving a reply in the negative the British admiral sent him back to his ship with an intimation that as he would not strike his flag he must be prepared to fight. An action took place which lasted two hours, and resulted in the surrender of the French ship, the captain of which returned

BATTLE-SHIP ABOUT 1650.

and presented his sword to his conqueror. The incident is so in keeping with the generous character of Blake that, as the Italians say, *Si non e vero e ben trovato.*

In the following March, Blake, who had his flag in the *Phœnix* frigate, reduced the Scilly Isles to subjection to the Parliament, assisted by Sir George Ayscue, and in October took Jersey and Guernsey. In March, 1652, when a rupture was anticipated with Holland, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the fleet for nine months; but the Parliament only equipped 25 ships, while the Dutch Government fitted out 150 sail, and Van Tromp had under his command upwards of 40. The first blood drawn in the sanguinary war that ensued was by Commodore Young, who, while lying in the Downs on the 14th May, fired on a Dutch man-of-war that refused to lower her flag. The British commodore defeated the Dutch captain, and enforced his demand. A few days later Van Tromp arrived off Dover where Blake lay, when the British admiral fired three shots as an intimation to him to strike his flag, to which Van Tromp replied by a broadside.

Perceiving his intention to fight, Blake stood towards the flagship with the object of treating with her so as to prevent the effusion of blood, on which the Dutch fleet opened fire. Blake was in his cabin at the time drinking with some officers when the shot

broke his cabin windows, and shattered the stern, which so infuriated him that, curling his whiskers, as was his custom when angry, he exclaimed that "he took it very ill of Van Tromp that he should take his ship for a bawdy-house, and break his windows."

For nearly four hours Blake was singly engaged, but gradually his 15 ships were enabled to take part in the action, and Commodore Bourne, who lay in the Downs with eight more, came to his assistance with his squadron. Although the odds were greatly against him, 42 ships to 23, Blake not only beat the enemy off, but captured two of their number. When war was proclaimed by both sides, on the 8th July, Blake was absent in the north, where he attacked and captured 12 Dutch ships-of-war, which were employed protecting their fishing fleet. Meantime, on the 4th July, after Blake had sailed with 60 ships to inflict this blow, Sir George Ayscue arrived from the West Indies, where he had reduced Barbados, which was still held in the Royal interest, as also Virginia and the Leeward Islands, and taken 14 Dutch trading vessels, and on his way to England had attacked 40 sail, which he had captured, burnt, or driven on shore on the French coast.

During Blake's absence Tromp appeared off the mouth of the Thames with 70 sail, when, failing to find Ayscue, who lay in the Downs with seven ships, he sailed northward to intercept Blake, but his ships

were dispersed by a storm, and he returned to Holland without effecting anything. The Dutch Government now displaced him in the command, and despatched De Ruyter, a better seaman if not an abler man, with a fleet to engage the redoubtable British admiral. The Parliament had meanwhile strengthened Ayscue's fleet to 38 sail, which put to sea, and on the 16th August, off Plymouth, that officer encountered De Ruyter, who, with a fleet of about the same strength, was convoying home between 50 and 60 merchantmen. Ayscue, with nine ships, broke through the hostile line, and got the weather-gauge, but some of the other captains failed to support him, and night parted the combatants. The Rear-Admiral, Peck, was wounded and died, and many captains, all of whom did their duty, were wounded, and a fire-ship was lost; but the Dutch had distinctly the worst of the engagement, and were glad to return to port with many of their ships disabled.

An action that redounded greatly to the credit of the English navy took place off Elba, where Admiral van Galen, with 11 ships-of-war, attacked Commodore Bodley, who, with only three and a fire-ship, was escorting three or four merchantmen homeward bound from Smyrna. The first day's fighting was indecisive, but Bodley, having directed his convoy to make the best of their way to the nearest harbour, renewed the action with eight of the enemy on the

following day. The British commodore repulsed the Dutch admiral, and shot away the mainmast of one of his largest ships. On this the crew of the frigate *Phœnix* boarded the latter ship, but were too weak to carry her, and after an hour's fighting the *Phœnix* in turn was boarded, and forced to strike her flag. In the meantime Bodley was boarded simultaneously by two Dutch ships, but beat them both off with great slaughter and the loss of their captains. Van Galen had enough of it by this time, and suffered his adversary to make sail without hindrance, and Bodley arrived with his four remaining ships at a neighbouring port, where the Dutch also appeared, and buried their three slain captains; and there was great fraternisation between the crews of the rival squadrons as became two brave nations. The *Phœnix* was retaken in Leghorn roads on the 26th November in this year by Commodore Appleton, who lay there with six ships, in company with a superior Dutch squadron. The ship was boarded by three boats in the most gallant manner, and young Van Tromp, who commanded her, only escaped capture by jumping overboard.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, indignant at this violation of the neutrality of a port in his territory, demanded either her restitution or that the English squadron should put to sea. Appleton could not bring himself to the former alternative, and for the

latter Van Galen was cruising outside the harbour with 16 sail. However, a plan was arranged between the English commodore and Bodley, who lay at Elba with two ships-of-war and four merchantmen, to appear off Leghorn to decoy Van Galen's squadron away, and give him a chance to escape. On his approaching within sight on the 2nd March, the Dutch admiral stood out to sea to give chase, when Appleton slipped out. But suspecting his design Van Galen tacked with nine ships, and fell upon Appleton. In the action that ensued the *Bonaventure*, of 44 guns and 150 men, blew up, and the *Leopard*, 50 guns and 180 men, carrying the commodore's broad pennant, after a desperate resistance for nearly five hours, in which she beat off two of her assailants, was forced to strike, though Appleton was only hindered by main force from firing the magazine and blowing up his ship. The *Sampson*, of 36 guns and 90 men, was burnt by a fire-ship after beating off young Van Tromp. The *Levant Merchant*, of 28 guns and 60 men, and the *Pilgrim*, of 30 guns and 70 men, were taken, and the *Mary* alone, of like force, made her escape and joined Bodley's squadron.

When Blake returned to the Channel he attacked a squadron of French ships going to the relief of Dunkirk, and took or destroyed them all, which mainly contributed to the surrender of that impor-

tant fortress to the Spaniards. On the 28th September he came into collision with the Dutch fleet, now under the command of De Ruyter and De Witt. The *Sovereign*, which has found a successor in the *Royal Sovereign* that bore Collingwood's flag at Trafalgar, and in the first-class battle-ship of that name in the present day, sank a Dutch man-of-war. One of the enemy's flagships was also taken, two were sunk, and another was blown up, when the enemy made sail, and were chased by the British fleet till they were within 12 leagues of the Dutch coast, when Blake returned in triumph to the Downs, having lost 300 slain and about the same number wounded.

Nothing dispirited, the Dutch States augmented their fleet to 80 sail, and despatched Van Tromp in command, who attacked Blake on the 30th November at a disadvantage, as he lay at anchor in the Downs, with only 37 ships, and they not fully manned. The brunt of the battle was borne by three ships which bore famous names. These were the *Triumph*, Blake's flagship, the *Victory*, and the *Vanguard*, the successors of which carried Nelson's flag at the Nile and Trafalgar. These three ships were surrounded by 20 Dutchmen, but succeeded in beating them off, and two others, the *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, nearly succeeded in capturing Van Tromp's flagship, which, however, was rescued from its perilous position

by two Dutchmen, when they were both captured, and their captains, Batten and Hookston, were slain. Blake went to the rescue, but nearly shared their fate, and, assisted by the *Vanguard* and *Sapphire*, succeeded in beating off his assailants. The *Hercules* was run ashore, and it is certain that but for the advent of night many more would have been lost.

Van Tromp now sailed the Channel with a broom at his maintop-gallant-mast head, but the Parliament made such strenuous efforts to reinforce the navy that in six months' time, Blake, who had in no way forfeited their confidence or that of the nation, had 40 sail under his command in the Thames, and there were 20 more at Portsmouth ready to put to sea. These squadrons effected a junction near Beachy Head on the 11th February, and, sailing across the Channel, opposite Portland, Blake met his adversary, who was convoying between 200 and 300 merchantmen, and eagerly accepted the gage of battle thrown down to him.

The action was commenced on the 18th February by the *Triumph*, on board of which were both Blake and Deane, who, with 12 ships, eagerly attacked the Dutch commodore without waiting for the remainder of his fleet. Blake was wounded in the thigh, and General Deane's coat and breeches were cut by the same shot. Captain Ball, who commanded the ship, was shot dead by the admiral's side, and so was his

secretary; but Blake stubbornly continued the fight, though 100 men had fallen and most of the rest were wounded, and the ship little more than a wreck, until the *Fairfax*, Captain Lawson, and *Vanguard*, Captain Mildmay, came to his aid. These also suffered severely, the former having 100 killed, and the *Vanguard* lost her captain, while both ships were greatly shattered. De Ruyter boarded and captured the *Prosperous*, of 44 guns, but she did not remain long in his possession, as immediately the *Merlin* frigate re-took her. The *Assistance* and *Advice* were also so severely damaged that they had to make the best of their way to Portsmouth.

The Dutch likewise were severely handled. De Ruyter's ship lost her fore and maintop-masts, and narrowly escaped capture, and Tromp's, which was long engaged with the *Triumph*, was disabled and most of her officers were slain. Six Dutch ships were either taken or sunk, and one was blown up.

The fight was renewed on the following day off the Isle of Wight, with more favourable results for the English. After a desperate resistance the enemy were compelled to retreat, De Ruyter's ship being towed out of action. On this day their loss was eight men-of-war and 14 merchantmen. The struggle was continued all night, and on Sunday, the 20th February, it was renewed near Boulogne. Tromp managed to gain Calais roads with 40 sail, and thence reached

Dutch waters, but Captains Lawson, Martin, and Graves each took a Dutch ship-of-war, and Penn captured several merchantmen. The entire Dutch loss in the three days' fighting was 11 ships-of-war, 30 merchantmen, 1,500 killed, and as many wounded. The only ship Blake lost was the *Sampson,* which was so disabled that Captain Button scuttled her, but his casualties were little inferior to the enemy's.

Van Tromp put to sea again in May, with 98 ships-of-war and six fire-ships. Monk and Deane, both men of determined courage, were at the head of 95 sail and five fire-ships, and a desperate action took place in the Channel on the 2nd June. Early in the battle Deane was nearly cut in two by a chain shot, when Monk, who was standing by, covered his body with his cloak. The fight raged with fury from eleven till three in the afternoon, when the Dutch fell into great confusion, and Van Tromp began a retreat, in which one of his ships blew up with all on board. In the night Blake arrived with 18 fresh ships, and at daybreak, greatly to Tromp's disadvantage, the battle was renewed. At length the enemy fled in confusion, leaving behind six of their best ships sunk, two blown up, and 11 captured, among the number being three carrying admiral's flags.

In the second day's action Tromp's ship was twice boarded by Admiral Penn, and would have been taken but for the aid afforded by De Witt and De Ruyter.

The Dutch Government now sent envoys to treat with Cromwell for peace, but meanwhile used such strenuous efforts to increase their fleet that, on the 29th July, Van Tromp was enabled to appear before the Texel with a fleet with which to relieve De Ruyter, whose squadron of 25 sail was blockaded there by the English fleet, under Monk, in the *Resolution*. Tromp avoided an engagement, but on the 31st, when the weather had moderated, a furious battle ensued, the most hardly contested of the war. About noon Van Tromp was shot through the body by a musket ball, which greatly discouraged his ships' crews, and about two they began to give way. By nightfall those that had escaped capture and destruction arrived at the Texel, where the English fleet, fearing the shoals on the coast, feared to follow them.

The Dutch loss was 26 ships burnt or sunk, as Monk issued an order that all captured were to be destroyed, and between 4,000 and 5,000 slain. There were five Dutch admirals present in the engagement, and of these the ships of Tromp, Evertzen and De Ruyter were so disabled, the last by Admiral Lawson, that they were towed out of fire, and Monk's ship, the *Resolution*, was so shattered that she was forced to quit the line of battle, and most of the others suffered more or less severely. On the side of the English only the *Oak* and *Hunter* were burnt by the Dutch fire-ships, which were well managed, though the

Triumph was set on fire and narrowly escaped destruction. Five captains and over 500 seamen were killed, and six captains and about 600 of other ranks were wounded.

This victory, in which Blake, owing to ill health, had no share, was so decisive that the Dutch were glad to accept Cromwell's own terms of peace, which included striking the flag, the *fons et origo* of the war, and indemnifying the East India Company for losses. Parliament conferred gold chains, in testimony of their services, on Blake, Monk, Penn and Lawson, and the two latter received a step of rank, and Bodley was promoted to rear-admiral.

When peace was signed on the 4th April, 1654, the Dutch had lost 1,700 vessels, which they valued at six millions sterling, the English loss being less than one-fourth, and had been defeated in five general engagements, some lasting two or more days, and only gained a partial success over Ayscue and in the Downs against a small squadron.

The war with France was continued, our ships taking, sinking, or burning many of theirs until the following year, when Cromwell compelled them to submit to his own terms, which included giving up the interests of the English Royal Family, and conceding an advantageous treaty of commerce.

Cromwell, like the great and prescient ruler that he was, strengthened his fleet, and having resolved to

make England the arbiter of Europe, and humble Spain and the piratical states of the Mediterranean as he had humbled Holland, Denmark, and France, despatched Blake to sea in the winter of 1654, and at the same time sent Vice-Admiral Penn to the West Indies, where he took possession of Jamaica, then a Spanish colony, which has ever since remained an English dependency.

On his way to the Mediterranean Blake arrived at Cadiz in December, and was received with great respect by the authorities, and by the commanders of foreign ships in port. A Dutch admiral would not fly his flag while in the presence of the dreaded warrior, and it is related that one of the victuallers attending his fleet, which was separated from the rest, having fallen in with the French admiral and seven other ships-of-war of that nationality, her master was summoned on board the flagship and interrogated as to the whereabouts of Blake, when the admiral drank his health with five guns, and so "wished the captain a good voyage." From Cadiz Blake sailed to Malaga, where the following incident occurred, which showed the dread he inspired among foreigners. "Some of our seamen going ashore, met the Host as it was carrying to a sick person, and not only paid no respect thereto but laughed at those who did. The priest who accompanied it highly resented this, and put the people on revenging the indignity; upon which they

fell upon the sailors, and beat some of them very severely. When they returned on board they complained of this ill-usage, and the admiral instantly sent a trumpet to the viceroy to demand the priest who was the author of this insult. The viceroy answered that he had no authority over priests, and therefore could not send him. Upon this Blake sent a second message, that he would not enter into the question who had power to send him, but that if he was not sent within three hours he would infallibly burn the town about their ears." The inhabitants, we are told, to save themselves, obliged the viceroy to send the priest, who, when he came on board Blake's flagship, the *George*, excused himself on account of the behaviour of the sailors. Blake, with much calmness and composure, told him that if he had complained of this outrage he would have punished them severely, for he would not suffer any of his men to affront the established religion of a place where he touched, but he blamed him for setting on a mob of Spaniards to beat them, adding, "that he would have him and the whole world know that none but an Englishman should chastise an Englishman."

Blake first sailed to Leghorn, where he compelled the Grand Duke of Tuscany to pay an indemnity of £60,000 for damages done by Van Galen when Appleton was forced out of the roads. Thence he steered for Algiers, and on his arrival on the 10th

March, 1655, he demanded satisfaction for the piracies committed on his countrymen, and required the immediate release of all captives. The Dey conceded his terms, when Blake sailed for Tunis, where he made a like demand, to which he received an insolent answer that, "here are our Castles of Goletta and Porto Farino; you may do your worst; we do not fear you."

Without more parley Blake entered the bay and, anchroing within musket-shot of the castle and Porto Farino, opened fire with such effect that he soon silenced the works. He then sent boats from the fleet to burn nine ships lying in the roads, which were all boarded and destroyed while the British fleet covered their advance by a hot fire on Goletta Castle. From Tunis Blake sailed to Tripoli, but the ruler agreed to his terms, when the admiral returned to Tunis, the people of which compelled their prince to sign the treaty demanded by the representative of England, whose name inspired terror throughout the Mediterranean.

Blake now sailed for Cadiz, where he was joined by Captain Montagu with a small squadron, and received instructions to blockade the port, where lay 40 vessels, and to intercept the treasure-ships from the West Indies. While he was absent watering and provisioning on the coast of Portugal, the eight treasure-ships arrived off the port, and Admiral Stayner, who was left in charge of a blockading

squadron of seven frigates, attacked them and, after an obstinate engagement, captured and sunk or drove ashore six of them. In one of the ships that was sunk the Marquis of Badajoz, Viceroy of Peru, with his family, had embarked, and his wife and daughter perished in the flames that broke out on board, together with all but 90 of the crew; the treasure on board, however, amounting to 6,000,000 "pieces of eight," was saved.

The British admiral continued to cruise before Cadiz, and in the Straits of Gibraltar, until April, 1657, when, having information of more treasure ships which had put into the harbour of Santa Cruz, in the Island of Teneriffe, he sailed thither, and arrived in the bay on the 20th April. Here he found six richly-laden galleons, and within the boom ten smaller vessels, the whole under the protection of a strong castle and a line of seven forts. The Spanish governor felt himself so secure from any attack that, when the captain of a Dutch vessel asked leave to sail as he felt apprehensive of the redoubtable seaman, the official replied, "Get you gone, if you will; and let Blake come, if he dare."

Blake now made his dispositions for attack, and sending Admiral Stayner with a squadron to engage the galleons, he opened fire on the enemy's works, and then followed with the rest of his ships, and sunk all but two of the Spanish fleet. Fortunately

the wind changed and blew out of the harbour, and Blake sailed thence with the loss of only 48 killed and 120 wounded. The Spaniards were astonished at this feat of arms, and indeed it has ever been regarded as one of the most remarkable performed at sea. Cromwell knighted Stayner, who led the attack, and the Parliament voted Blake a ring of the value of £500.

After this victory the admiral sailed for England, but his health was quite broken, and confinement on board ship, with the accompanying diet, had affected him with dropsy and scurvy. He daily grew worse, and on the 17th August, as his ship was entering Plymouth Sound, he died, leaving behind him a name that in naval annals is only second to the victor of the Nile and Trafalgar. His patriotism was pure and unselfish, and his only aim was to contribute to the glory and welfare of his native land. He would say to his officers that "sailors had nothing to do with politics, but all their business was to prevent foreigners from fooling us." Even the Royalists admired and applauded him, and Clarendon, the great historian of the Civil War, says of him :—"He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them ; and though he had been very well initiated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage and bold, resolute achievement."

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CHAPTER III.

The Second Dutch War—The Duke of York's Victory off Lowestoft on the 3rd June, 1665—Monk is Defeated in June, 1666, by De Ruyter—Death of Sir William Berkeley and Sir Christopher Myngs—Monk's Victory over the Dutch on the 25th June—De Ruyter sails up the Medway and advances to Upnor Castle—Sir Edward Spragge at Algiers—The Third Dutch War—The Duke of York surprised at Solebay on the 28th May, 1672—Death of Lord Sandwich—Battle of the 11th August—Death of Sir Edward Spragge—Capture of the Dutch frigate *Scharlaes* by the *Tiger* off Cadiz.

When Charles II. came to the throne,—in a great measure owing to the goodwill of some of the superior officers of the fleet, notably Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle,—peace was maintained with France, whose king, Louis, had always supported the Royal Family as much as he dared while Cromwell lived, and was not disturbed while the Stuarts reigned. But war was declared in January, 1665, between England and Holland, whose admiral, De Ruyter, had plundered our West African colonies, in retaliation for like measures adopted by Sir Robert Holmes twelve months before, and had captured at Barbados and Newfoundland a large number of English merchantmen.

The first consequence of the declaration of war was the attack made near Cadiz by Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded a squadron of nine ships, on about 40 Dutch merchantmen from Smyrna, convoyed by four vessels-of-war. The Commodore Brackel was killed, four of the richest ships were taken, and the rest driven into Cadiz, where they were blockaded. The Dutch Bordeaux fleet of 130 sail was also attacked and the greater number of them taken. The Dutch Government replied by an embargo on all British shipping in their ports.

Actual hostilities were commenced on the 21st April, when the English fleet steered for the Texel. It consisted of 114 sail-of-the-line and frigates, and 28 fire-ships and ketches, the whole manned by 22,000 seamen and soldiers, under the command of the Duke of York, with Prince Rupert and Lord Sandwich as his vice and rear-admirals. The fleet, however, returned the following month, when the Dutch fleet of 103 ships-of-war and 11 fire-ships, under Admiral Opdam, appeared off the Dogger Bank on the English coast, sailing in seven squadrons, one of which was commanded by Evertzen, and another by the son of Van Tromp, an officer as brave as his father, though not his equal as a seaman. The Dutch, during the absence of the Duke of York, who had no experience of war and was as incompetent an admiral as ever commanded a British fleet, suc-

ceeded in capturing the whole of the Hamburg fleet, involving a loss of £200,000 to their owners.

The Duke of York at once put to sea, and on the 3rd June the rival fleets met off Lowestoft, and a prolonged and sanguinary engagement ensued. Opdam was opposed to fighting, owing to the inferiority of his fleet, but though his courage and experience were acknowledged, he was overruled by De Witt, who gave him stringent orders to engage. The event justified his expectations, and he met with a great defeat.

About noon, when the action had lasted several hours, Lord Sandwich—who, as Admiral Montagu, had seen some service under Blake—fell upon the Dutch centre and broke it, which caused confusion, which all Opdam's exertions failed to counteract. He had been closely engaged with the Duke of York's ship, the *Royal Charles*, of 80 guns, when suddenly the *Eendracht*, as his flag-ship, carrying 84 guns, was called, blew up, and of 500 men on board all perished except five. Now disaster followed close on disaster. Four ships which ran foul of each other were all burnt by one fire-ship, and, soon after, three others shared the same fate, and about four in the afternoon, the *Orange*, of 75 guns, took fire and was destroyed. Vice-Admirals Cortenaer and Stillingwert were killed, when a panic seized their squadrons, and Tromp, who continued fighting desperately with

30 ships, covered the retreat of the remainder. In all, the enemy lost 18 sail taken and 14 sunk, besides those burnt and blown up; and their casualties were said by Lord Arlington to number at least 7,000, of whom 2,300 were prisoners.

The English lost, writes the same authority, the *Charity*, of 46 guns, and 283 men killed and 440 wounded, but the slain included perhaps the finest seaman present, Sir John Lawson, who only had command of a single ship, and many officers of family and repute, as Lords Portland, Falmouth, Muskerry, and Marlborough, and Vice-Admiral Samson. Though victorious gross mismanagement was displayed by the Duke of York, and there was no attempt to pursue the enemy. It was conceded that had this been done the naval power of Holland would have been so broken that they would have been powerless to continue the war. It was said that this remissness was due to a fear to expose the Duke of York to any further danger, and an official in his suite, named Brounker, who had given orders in the Duke's name to shorten sail, was dismissed from his service and expelled from the House of Commons.

On the other hand the Dutch received the news of their defeat with indignation and fury, and the mob threw Admiral Brill into the river, and tumults broke out at Rotterdam. In punishment of their cowardice three of the Dutch captains were shot on the 4th July,

and two were dismissed from the navy. This great defeat brought one advantage to Holland, as the French king declared war against England, though as a maritime power, at this time, France counted for little.

By great exertions the Pensionary De Witt fitted out a strong fleet, which he despatched to sea in the following year, under the command of De Ruyter, and accompanied the admiral, though his presence must have been rather a hindrance than assistance to that experienced seaman. The English fleet sailed early in May, 1666, under the command of Rupert and George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, but in an evil hour King Charles gave ear to false intelligence, to the effect that the French fleet, under the command of the Duke of Beaufort, were coming out of Belleisle to join the Dutch, and ordered Rupert to proceed with a squadron from the Downs down Channel to prevent a junction.

At the same time that the prince sailed, De Ruyter put to sea with his fleet of 90 ships-of-war, carrying 4,716 guns, and 22,462 men, which was sighted on the 1st June by the Duke of Albemarle as he was cruising near the Goodwins. Notwithstanding his inferiority, Monk was eager to engage, and, gaining the weather gauge, opened fire on the enemy, but, owing to the stiff breeze then blowing, was unable to fire his lower-deck guns, as his ships heeled over to the blast. Sir William Berkeley's squadron led the

van on the first day, when he was slain, and his ship, the *Swiftsure*, was taken, as was also the *Essex*. In the life of Van Tromp it is said:—"Highly to be admired was the resolution of Vice-Admiral Berkeley, who, though cut off from the line, surrounded by his enemies, great numbers of his men killed, his ship disabled, and boarded on all sides, yet continued fighting almost alone, killed several with his own hand, and would accept no quarter, till, at length, being shot in the throat with a musket-ball, he retired into the captain's cabin, where he was found dead, extended at his full length on a table, and almost covered with his own blood." Sir John Harman at this time was singly engaged with a squadron, and his ship, the *Henry*, being disabled, Cornelius Evertzen called out to him and offered quarter, but the veteran officer replied, "No, sir, it has not come to that yet," and discharged a broadside by which Evertzen was killed, and some of the ships received damage. This so discouraged them that they sheered off, and sent three fire-ships, all of which in succession grappled the *Henry*, but were beaten off, though twice the English ship caught fire, and the cross-jack-yard, which fell when the tackling was burnt through, broke Sir John Harman's leg, who was standing, sword in hand, threatening to kill anyone who followed the example of 50 men who had jumped overboard to save themselves from the flames. Sir

John Harman brought his ship in safety to Harwich, and, notwithstanding his broken leg, soon put to sea to engage the enemy. The battle ended for that day at ten o'clock, and the night was employed by both sides in refitting their ships. In the second day's fight Van Tromp's ship was nearly taken, and Vice-Admiral der Hulst, who was on board with him, was killed, and De Ruyter's flag-ship was disabled in effecting her relief.

On the third day Monk found himself under the necessity of retreating, which he did after losing three of his damaged ships. With the gallantry that distinguished him, he brought up the rear with 28 of his best ships. In the evening Prince Rupert rejoined him, but, unfortunately, the *Royal Prince*, the largest and heaviest ship in the fleet, commanded by Sir George Ayscue, ran on the Galloper sands, and was surrendered to the Dutch. The Duke of Albemarle renewed the action at eight in the morning of the 4th of June, and it is stated that five times he passed through the enemy's line, but his ship and that of Prince Rupert suffered greatly, and about seven in the evening the rival fleets separated, and Monk made no further effort to bring the enemy to battle. On this concluding day Sir Christopher Myngs was slain, and there was no more gallant officer in the navy. He had received a bullet in the neck, but remained for an hour on deck with his fingers

pressed in the wound to stay the flow of blood, till a second ball in the throat terminated his life.

Accounts differ so much as to the losses on either side that it would appear impossible to get at the truth. The writers of either nation magnified the loss of the other and minimised that of their own country, but if we take the estimate acknowledged by each nation, the Dutch own to a loss of nine ships, and our writers to ten ships sunk and six taken. The slaughter was great, and Evelyn places ours at 600 killed, including two admirals, 1,100 wounded, and 200 prisoners. De Witt declared, and the words should be written in letters of gold—"If the English were beat, then defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; their own fleet could never have been brought on after the first day's fight, and he believed none but theirs could; and all the Dutch had discovered was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt, but that the English courage was invincible."

Though Monk was doubtless imprudent, he was bred in the school of Blake, who always declared that, for a nation claiming to be mistress of the seas, it was better to fight against any odds rather than retreat, and in this view, which was much the same as Nelson held, the great admiral ever acted. However, within a few weeks both fleets were again at sea, that of the English numbering 80 ships-of-war and 19 fire-ships,

under Monk and Rupert, who were on board the same ship, with Sir Joseph Jordan, their vice-admiral, and Sir Robert Holmes, rear-admiral. Sir Thomas Allen was admiral of the white squadron, with Sir Thomas Tiddiman and Admiral Utburt under him, and Sir Jeremiah Smith commanded the blue squadron, having Sir Edward Spragge and Kempthorne as his vice and rear-admirals. The Dutch fleet consisted of 88 sail with 20 fire-ships, under De Ruyter, Van Tromp, and John Evertzen.

The first battle ended in a victory for the English, and showed that when they fought on anything like even terms they were more than a match for the Dutchmen. The fleets met on the 25th June, off the North Foreland, when Sir Thomas Allen led off by attacking Evertzen, who was killed, with both his admirals. The *Zealand*, Vice-Admiral De Vries' ship, was taken, and another of 50 guns was burnt. About one in the afternoon, Monk and the Prince made a desperate onslaught on the centre, which was under the immediate command of De Ruyter, and disabled the *Guelderland*, of 66 guns, besides killing one and mortally wounding two of his captains. Gradually the ships deserted their commander, until only seven were left, and finally these, with De Ruyter's own ship, were compelled to fly. Van Tromp's squadron, which was much stronger than Sir Jeremiah Smith's, was enabled to hold its own, but followed De

Ruyter when, favoured by the night, he made good his retreat, though he was pursued on the following day, when the wind had sprung up, by the centre division of the English fleet.

The victory was most decisive, the loss of the Dutch being 20 ships and 4,000 slain, including four admirals and a great many captains, and 3,000 wounded; while the British fleet had only the *Resolution* burnt by a fire-ship, and three captains and 300 men killed.

The Dutch not only suffered the humiliation of a crushing defeat, but also incurred enormous pecuniary loss. Monk and Rupert despatched Sir Robert Holmes, with eight ships and five fire-ships, up the Ulie, on their coast, where lay a fleet of 170 merchantmen, of which only eight or nine escaped, the rest being burnt by the fire-ships or boats of the squadron, together with two men-of-war. The town of Schelling was also burnt, and the loss thus inflicted was estimated at £1,100,000, a wanton destruction of property scarcely justifiable.

The Dutch were disappointed of assistance from their French allies, whom Sir Thomas Allen attacked when they ventured out of port, and captured the *Ruby*, of 54 guns. De Witt and his people were now tired of war, and as the English were suffering from the effects of the Great Plague and the Fire of London, both parties accepted the mediation of the

King of Sweden, but no armistice was concluded, and De Ruyter appeared off the mouth of the Thames with seven sail besides fire-ships, and on the 7th June, 1667, attacked Sheerness, whose defences were in an unfinished condition. The country had not been exposed to such insult for centuries, and London itself was in danger. Charles II., to his eternal disgrace, had squandered the public money in dissipation and presents to his mistresses, and this proud country, which had been accustomed to exact from the foreigner the lowered flag as a tribute to her supremacy, now witnessed the humiliation of a Dutch squadron sailing unmolested in the great highway which led to her capital.

The scene in the Thames was calculated to cause the most zealous Royalist to exclaim, "Oh, for one hour of Robert Blake!" the great seaman whose bones some among them, with pitiful spite, had torn up from the honoured grave in which they had been laid, and flung to the winds of heaven.

Sir Edward Spragge, one of the most experienced and brilliant officers of the navy, who had won knighthood for his gallantry, under the Duke of York, in the great battle with Opdam, had made provision for the defence of the Medway, by sinking ships and throwing a boom across it, but the Dutch broke the latter and took an English frigate, and also set on fire three ships they had captured, called the *Matchless*,

Unity, and *Charles V.* On the following day they advanced, with six men-of-war and five fire-ships, as high as Upnor Castle, but were so warmly received by the officer in command and Admiral Spragge, that they were forced to retreat, on the way burning the *Royal Oak*, a fine ship-of-the-line, when Captain Douglas, rather than leave her, met his death on board. "I could have been glad," says Sir William Temple, in a letter to Lord Lisle, "to have seen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrate Captain Douglas's death, who stood and burnt in one of our ships at Chatham, when his soldiers left him, because it should never be said, a Douglas quitted his post without orders. Whether it be wise in man to do such actions or no, I am sure it is in states to honour them."

The Dutch also carried off the *Royal Charles*, a first-rate, but lost two ships which ran on shore, which, with eight fire-ships consumed in the action and 150 killed, was all the loss they acknowledged. De Ruyter, leaving part of his fleet under Van Nes in the Thames, sailed with the rest to Portsmouth, but failing there and at Torbay to inflict loss, returned to the Thames, and with 25 sail advanced as far as the Hope, where Sir Edward Spragge lay with 18 sail. This officer, assisted by Sir Joseph Jordan, who commanded the *Victory* under Blake, quickly forced the Dutch to retire, when they tried, but unsuccessfully, to take Landguard Fort, opposite Harwich, a force

of 1,600 men they landed, under the fire of the fleet, being beaten off with loss.

Van Nes made another attempt to push up the Thames, but again was encountered by Spragge, who had five sail and 17 fire-ships with him, and was compelled to retire, having expended all his fire-ships to no purpose, closely followed by the English commander.

In the West Indies we had the best of the war, having made ourselves masters of the Dutch islands of St. Eustatia and Tobago, though we lost Surinam, and later, Evertzen retook Tobago. But in a general engagement, fought on the 10th May, 1667, Sir John Harman, with 12 ships-of-war, defeated 22 French and Dutch sail, and, pursuing the former to St. Kitts, burnt the French flag-ship and six other vessels in the harbour. By these successes the English fleet became paramount in the West Indies.

On the 24th August in this year was concluded the treaty of Breda, by which we kept all we had taken except Surinam. In the following year Sir Thomas Allen sailed for the Mediterranean to repress the Algerine corsairs, when some of our frigates attacked seven of the enemy near Cape Gaeta, and sank one and forced the others to fly. At the close of 1669 Captain (afterwards Sir John) Kempthorne, with his small frigate, the *Mary Rose*, engaged seven Algerine ships-of-war and compelled them to sheer

off. Next year, Sir Edward Spragge sailed for Algiers with a strong squadron, and finding the enemy in the harbour of Bugia, he forced the boom, and, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the ships and batteries, burnt seven of the former, together with three prizes. The populace of Algiers were so exasperated at this defeat that they murdered the Dey, and forced his successor to conclude a peace with the English admiral, which was signed on the 9th December in the same year.

In 1672 Charles II. entered into a secret engagement with Louis XIV. of France to partition Holland, while he was ostensibly in alliance with that power, and despatched Sir Robert Holmes to intercept the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and on the 13th March, five of our frigates fell in with their merchantmen, numbering about 50 sail, escorted by six ships-of-war. An action ensued, which was continued on the following day, and resulted in the capture of five of their richest ships, and the sinking of a frigate. A French fleet of 36 sail arrived at Portsmouth to co-operate with that under the command of the Duke of York, and the king paid a visit to Count d'Estrees on board his flag-ship.

The French joined the Duke of York at Southwold, or Solebay, on the coast of Suffolk, where, with 65 ships, mounting 4,092 guns and carrying 23,560 men, he lay in fancied security, when suddenly De

Ruyter appeared off the coast with 91 men-of-war and 54 ships. Several of the English captains were forced to cut their cables in order to get into line of battle, and probably any other fleet but an English one would have met with disaster under the circumstances. The action began at seven o'clock in the morning, when De Ruyter attacked the centre squadron, commanded by the Duke of York, whose ship, the *St. Michael*, suffered so much damage that he was forced to remove his flag to the *Loyal London*. Meanwhile, first Captain Brackel and then Van Ghent's squadron attacked Lord Sandwich with great fury, and though the Dutch admiral was killed, he sank a ship-of-war and three fire-ships that ran alongside, though a fourth succeeded in setting on fire the British flag-ship, *Royal James*, of 100 guns, when the gallant admiral, who had lost all his officers and two-thirds of his men, fought on stubbornly, and perished with nearly all the survivors of his crew. The French kept aloof from the battle, but Sir Joseph Jordan, with his squadron, came to the Duke of York's assistance, and dispersed the enemy. Thus though the odds against our countrymen were three to two, English valour and obstinacy prevailed, and the Dutch were forced to retire, having lost two admirals, Van Ghent and Cornelius Evertzen, and the flagships of De Ruyter and Allemand narrowly escaped being destroyed by fire-ships.

Though only one ship, the *Staveren*, was captured, and the losses on both sides were about equal, it may be claimed as a victory, though a dearly-bought one, for the English, as the Dutch retired from the scene of conflict. Besides Lord Sandwich, there were slain the captains of the *Henry*, *St. George*, *Anne*, *Cambridge*, *Prince*, and *Triumph*, together with 2,500 men, and as many were wounded. De Ruyter declared in his letter to the States, that "it was the hardest fought battle that he ever saw."

On the 28th May in the following year, the anniversary of the battle of Solebay, another engagement equally sanguinary took place off the Dutch coast. The Duke of York could no longer hold command, by the provisions of the Test Act, he being an avowed Papist, and the charge of the fleet devolved on Prince Rupert, who had with him Sir Edward Spragge and Sir John Harman. The English and French fleets, the latter commanded by Count d'Estrees, consisted of 84 men-of-war, while that of De Ruyter and Van Tromp numbered 70 sail. The action that ensued was obstinately contested on both sides, though the French fought without spirit. Four times did Tromp shift his flag, on each occasion his ship being disabled, and at length Spragge forced him to retire, and also put Vice-Admiral Sweers' division into confusion. Both sides again claimed the victory, but the battle was indecisive.

Rupert returned to the English coast, but about the middle of June again put to sea, with 60 ships, and on the 11th August a second engagement ensued. De Ruyter, who had 70 sail, bore down on Rupert in the centre, while Tromp engaged Spragge, and Bankert sent eight men-of-war to tackle the French squadron of 30 ships, which apparently had no stomach for the fight, and with the remainder of his squadron fell upon Rupert, who nevertheless managed to hold his own and beat off a superior force.

Spragge, and Tromp, a worthy son of a gallant sire, had an old-standing feeling of honourable animosity towards each other, and a desperate fight took place between these champions. The latter carried his flag in the *Golden Lion*, and Spragge in the *Royal Prince*, and the pair engaged in a deadly duel. At the end of three hours the British flagship was so disabled that Spragge removed into the *St. George*, and Tromp quitted his ship for the *Comet*, when the battle was renewed. A third time Sir Edward shifted his flag into the *Royal Charles*, but as he was being rowed to her, a shot, which had passed through the *St. George*, sank his boat and the admiral was drowned. In him the British Navy lost one of its bravest and most experienced officers.

Prince Rupert came to the assistance of the late admiral's squadron, and interposed between Tromp and the disabled ships. About five in the evening

De Ruyter renewed the engagement, and Rupert, who had only 13 ships with him, was hardly pressed, but at the end of two hours his Highness succeeded in beating off the Dutch fleet. The French, however, took no heed of his signals to engage, and as most of his ships were more or less crippled, he made sail for his own coast. The battle, like the last one, was drawn, though both sides claimed the victory.

Besides Sir Edward Spragge, Captains Sir William Reeves and Havard were slain, and the Dutch loss included Admiral Sweers and Liefde, and three captains, but neither side lost a ship, though the advantages were substantially with them, as the blockade of their ports was brought to an end.

Peace was signed on the 9th February, 1674, and thus concluded the last of our three wars with the Dutch, the battles in which, like the others, were more sanguinary and hardly contested than those waged by this country with France or Spain before or since. By this treaty the States undertook "that not only separate ships, but whole fleets, should strike their sails to any fleet, or single ship, carrying the king's flag, as the custom was in the days of his ancestors." The question of the East India trade was also settled on an equitable basis, places taken on either side were to be restored, and the States-General agreed to pay an indemnity. The treaty was negotiated with the Spanish Ambassador, who

was provided with full powers to negotiate, and was certainly more advantageous than could have been expected from the indecisive results of the last two battles, but it nevertheless satisfied the Dutch.

A strange incident occurred before the signatures were appended to the treaty of peace. The small English frigate *Tiger*, Captain Harman, and the Dutch frigate *Schaerlaes*, Captain de Witt, happened to be lying together at Cadiz, when the Dutch commander challenged Captain Harman to a duel. This came off outside the harbour, and though Admiral Evertzen lent De Witt 70 soldiers and 60 seamen, in addition to his crew of 140, at the end of an hour, Captain Harman, whose crew only numbered 184 in all, had shot away his enemy's mainmast, and, boarding, captured her, with the loss of 140 men killed and wounded, his own casualties being nine killed and 15 wounded. Among the latter was Captain Harman, who was struck by a musket-ball, "which went in at the left eye and came out between the ear and jawbone, of which wound he was well cured, and lived several years after."

The only naval event worthy of chronicle at this time was the expedition against Tripoli, in January, 1676, when Sir John Narborough sent in his boats, under Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Cloudesley) Shovel, who, entering the harbour of Tripoli, seized the guard-ship, and burnt three large men-of-war. The

people came to terms, but then repudiated the treaty, on which Sir John Narborough cannonaded Tripoli and compelled them to submit. Three years later he brought the Algerines to their knees for acts of piracy, and, in 1682, Commodore Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, appeared before the place and exacted reparation for certain outrages.

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CHAPTER IV.

The War with France—Admiral Herbert's Action at Bantry Bay, and Battle off Beachy Head—Services of Rooke and Shovel—Admiral Russell's Victory at La Hogue—The Loss of the Smyrna Fleet—Admirals Benbow and Lord Berkeley in the Channel—Death of Benbow—The Failure at Cadiz and Destruction of Spanish Galleons in Vigo Bay—Capture of Gibraltar—The Battle of Malaga—Sir George Byng's Victory over the Spanish Fleet at Cape Passaro—Admirals Anson and Hawke Defeat the French Fleet off Cape Finisterre on the 3rd May and 14th August, 1747.

With the accession of William of Orange, in 1688, all further chance of hostilities with Holland ceased, and the French henceforth became our enemies. Now was inaugurated the long series of wars with our neighbours across the Channel, which only ended with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo.

The first action was fought off Bantry Bay, but it was only an indecisive skirmish. This was in March, 1689, when 22 sail, under Admiral Herbert, beat off 28 ships (or 24 according to French accounts), which retired into the bay. King William visited the fleet at Portsmouth, and created Herbert Earl of Torrington, and knighted Captains Ashby and Shovel of the *Defiance* and *Edgar*. Commodore (afterwards

Sir George) Rooke greatly distinguished himself by his relief of the besieged garrison of Londonderry, his landing of Schomberg's army near Carrickfergus, and his attempt on Cork, which bore evidence of the great activity and professional skill which long made his name so prominent in our annals. In 1690, Sir Cloudesley Shovel escorted King William and his army, embarked on board 288 transports, which were landed at Carrickfergus, and soon after won the great and decisive battle of the Boyne, which ruined the cause of James in Ireland.

On the 30th June took place the battle off Beachy Head, when the Earl of Torrington, with 34 English ships-of-war and 22 Dutch sail, engaged the Count de Tourville and Admiral d'Estrees, who had under their orders 78 men-of-war and 22 fire-ships, carrying upwards of 4,700 pieces of cannon. Though greatly outnumbered he was constrained, under orders from the Privy Council, to fight the French in order to compel them to withdraw from the Channel, as the adherents of James had planned an insurrection. The Dutch squadron, being in the van, fell in with the foremost French ships, and was severely handled, until the British admiral arrived to its assistance, when the combined fleet retreated in good order. Much credit was certainly due to the skill with which this retreat was effected, and only one ship was lost, the *Anne*, of 70 guns, which, having

been dismasted, drove ashore near Winchelsea, where her crew set fire to her. Our loss was two ships and 350 men killed, including two captains ; and that of the Dutch three ships sunk and three destroyed, which were stranded on the Essex coast, and Rear-Admirals Dick and Brackel were slain. Lord Torrington was thrown into the Tower and brought to a court-martial, but was unanimously acquitted, as was only just, for he did all that was possible against a greatly superior force.

The next great naval battle, that fought off Cape La Hogue on the 19th May, 1692, had far different results. Admiral Russell was at this time in command of a fleet of 63 ships, carrying an aggregate of 4,500 guns and 27,700 men. He had his flag on board the *Britannia,* with Sir Ralph Delaval and Sir Cloudesley Shovel as his vice and rear admirals, and his second-in-command was Sir John Ashby, who flew his flag in the *Victory,* with Rooke and Carter as his subordinate admirals. The Dutch fleet consisted of 36 ships, under Admiral Allemand, carrying 2,600 guns and 13,000 men, so that the allied force numbered 99 sail, and Count de Tourville, his antagonist, had but 63, of which some were detached at the time of the action.

The battle began shortly before noon, when the French commander-in-chief, in the *Soleil Royal,* of 104 guns, brought to within musket-shot of Admiral

Russell, in the *Britannia*. The flag-ships were hotly engaged till one, when De Tourville was towed off, his ship having suffered severely. About two a shift of wind gave him an advantage and, seconded by five of his ships, he again attacked the British admiral, who was assisted by Captains Aylmer and Churchill. Soon after four a fog came on and the *Soleil Royal* was towed off unmolested till it lifted, when Admiral Russell made the signal for a chase.

Meanwhile Sir Cloudesley Shovel got to windward of the enemy, and engaged them till the fog forced him to anchor. About this time Captain Hastings, of the *Sandwich,* was killed. At eight o'clock in the evening a part of Sir John Ashby's squadron fell in with the enemy and captured four of his ships, when the remainder made sail to escape. In this affair Rear-Admiral Carter was killed.

On the following day, the 20th May, as soon as the fog cleared, the pursuit was continued, and in the afternoon both fleets anchored. On resuming the chase, at eleven, on the 21st, the *Soleil Royal* got aground and cut her masts away. Some of the ships stood by her, on which Sir Ralph Delaval remained to destroy them, and the rest of the fleet continued the pursuit. That evening 13 of the French ships lay high up in La Hogue Bay, and Sir George Rooke, taking with him the small frigates, undertook to destroy them. He burnt six of the fugitives that

DESTRUCTION OF PART OF THE FRENCH FLEET BY SIR GEORGE ROOKE IN THE HARBOUR OF LA HOGUE, 1692.

After Benjamin West, P.R.A.

night, and at eight on the following morning went in with the boats and destroyed the other seven, together with a great many transports. Meanwhile Sir John Ashby pursued the rest of the French fleet till they ran through the race of Alderney, the dangers of which were so great that the admiral declined to follow them. Admiral Delaval, meantime, had burnt De Tourville's flagship; Captain Greenway, of his squadron, fired the *Conquerant*, 76, and the boats under the admiral's command boarded and destroyed the *Admirable*, of 90 guns.

Notwithstanding this reverse the French Government acted with so much energy that, in May, 1693, they were in a position to despatch to the Mediterranean 71 ships-of-the line, besides bomb-vessels and fire-ships. While lying in Lagos Bay, near Cape St. Vincent, De Tourville attacked a squadron of 23 sail, under Sir George Rooke, convoying the Smyrna fleet of 400 merchantmen, and the result was a great disaster, which was in no way due to the admiral, who did all that lay in the power of a skilful and brave officer to save the rich convoy entrusted to his charge. When some of the enemy appeared in sight a council of war was held, but Sir George Rooke's proposal to lie by until their strength could be ascertained, was overruled by his Dutch and English colleagues, Rear-Admiral Hopson and Vice-Admiral Vandergoes. On the 17th June, 10 French sail were

descried, which were chased by the English squadron, but at noon about 70 more appeared in sight, when Rooke signalled to the merchantmen to disperse and make the best of their way into Cadiz and elsewhere, while he placed himself between them and the enemy, and eventually made sail for Madeira. Two of the Dutch ships-of-war were captured after making a gallant resistance, besides 29 merchantmen taken and 50 destroyed by De Tourville, four of the largest Smyrna ships burnt or sunk at Gibraltar, and seven taken by Admiral Coetlogon. From Madeira Rooke sailed for Ireland, and arrived at Cork on the 29th July, with about 50 sail.

As some sort of retaliation Commodore Benbow bombarded St. Malo, and the king recalled Admiral Russell to the command of the fleet, who sailed, with a powerful fleet, for the Mediterranean, leaving Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Admiral Lord Berkeley, with two powerful squadrons, to operate against the enemy nearer home. The latter officer failed in an attack on Brest, but had better fortune at Dieppe, which he burnt; and Shovel, with Benbow as his commodore, attacked Dunkirk, though without any marked success, and bombarded Calais. Admiral Russell, on his part, raised the siege of Barcelona, and the *Plymouth,* of 60 guns, with five frigates, captured, after a long running fight, two French ships-of-the-line, though Commodore Killigrew, of the *Plymouth,* was killed.

In 1702, when Queen Anne succeeded to the throne, some naval events of importance occurred—the failure of Admiral Rooke at Cadiz, which had been greatly strengthened since the time when Howard and Raleigh captured it; and the death of Rear-Admiral Benbow. This officer, who was one of the most enterprising and skilful the navy ever boasted, was cruising in the West Indies with his flagship, the *Breda*, 74, *Defiance*, 64, *Greenwich*, 54, and four frigates, when he encountered Du Casse with four sail-of-the-line and one frigate. Benbow immediately attacked, but Captains Kirby and Wade afforded him no assistance; the commanders of the *Windsor* and *Pendennis* behaved little better; and only the *Ruby* and *Falmouth* engaged the enemy. Notwithstanding the cowardice of his captains, which was due to personal dislike, the bluff old admiral pursued Du Casse and brought him to action, sustaining singly the fire of the French squadron. He soon succeeded in crippling one of their ships-of-the-line, when, taking her in tow, they made their way to Barcelona. Benbow had his leg shattered by a shot, and died of the wound, but he had the satisfaction of bringing his craven officers to a court-martial, and Captains Kirby and Wade were shot, Captain Hudson escaped conviction by his death before the trial came on, and Captain Constable was dismissed the service.

The failure at Cadiz was due to causes beyond

Rooke's control. He had a fleet of 50 ships-of-the-line, 30 of which were supplied by our allies, the Dutch, and Lord Ormonde commanded an army of 14,000 men. But it was evident that no help was forthcoming, as was anticipated, from the adherents of the Austrian Archduke Charles, the claimant to the Spanish throne, whose pretensions were supported by the English Government; and after the troops were landed they were re-embarked without effecting anything of importance.

From Cadiz Rooke proceeded to Vigo Bay, where a fleet of rich galleons from the West Indies was at anchor, and achieved a considerable success. On arriving before the port 15 of these great vessels were found lying there under the escort of 18 sail-of-the-line and seven frigates, and further protected by batteries and forts mounting 70 guns. The water was too shallow for the heaviest ships, but Rooke did not hesitate to attack with the frigates and smaller line-of-battle-ships. The *Torbay*, under the command of Admiral Hopson, led the attack, and broke the boom, when the squadron stood into the harbour and engaged the forts. The *Torbay* lost 115 men, and some other ships suffered considerably, including the *Barfleur*, but Lord Ormonde, who had landed with 2,500 men, stormed the principal fort commanding the entrance, when the town submitted, and 15 French and three Spanish sail-of-the-line,

with seven frigates and 15 galleons, were burnt or captured, the booty acquired being valued at two millions sterling.

The year 1704 was memorable for two events of first-rate importance, one of which has borne consequences of the highest moment to the Empire. This was the capture of Gibraltar by a British squadron under Sir George Rooke, for which, if he had rendered no other service, the name of this fine seaman would go down among our most cherished memories.

Rooke sailed in February for the Tagus, and, being joined by Shovel with a strong reinforcement of ships, made an attempt on Barcelona in May, which failed, owing to the absence of a sufficient body of troops. He chased the French fleet into Toulon, and on the 17th July we find him holding a council of war to decide on some course of action that would ensure a success equal to the armament under his command, consisting of 60 English and Dutch ships. The admiral says in his despatch : "The 17th July, the fleet being then about seven leagues to the eastward of Tetuan, a council of war was held on board the *Royal Catherine,* wherein it was resolved to make a sudden attempt upon Gibraltar, and, accordingly, the fleet sailed thither, and on the 21st got into the bay ; and at three o'clock in the afternoon the marines, English and Dutch, to the number of 1,800, with the Prince of Hesse at the head of them, were put on

shore on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any communication with the country. His Highness, having posted his men there, sent a summons to the Governor to surrender the place for the service of his Catholic Majesty, which he rejected with great obstinacy. The admiral, on the 22nd, in the morning, gave orders that the ships which had been appointed to cannonade the town, under the command of Rear-Admiral Byng and Rear-Admiral Vanderdussen, as also those which were to batter the South Mole-head, commanded by Captain Hicks, of the *Yarmouth,* should range themselves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary they could not possibly get into their places till the day was spent. In the meantime, to amuse the enemy, Captain Whitaker was sent with some boats, who burnt a French privateer of 12 guns at the Mole. The 23rd, soon after break of day, the ships being all placed, the admiral gave the signal for beginning the cannonade, which was performed with great fury, about 15,000 shot being fired in five or six hours' time against the town, insomuch that the enemy were soon beat from their guns, especially at the South Mole-head, whereupon the admiral, considering that by gaining the fortification he should, of consequence, reduce the town, ordered Captain Whitaker, with all the boats armed, to endeavour to possess himself of it, which was performed with great expedition. But Captain

Hicks and Captain Jumper, who lay next the Mole, had pushed ashore with their pinnaces and some other boats, before the rest could come up; whereupon the enemy sprung a mine, that blew up the fortifications upon the Mole, killing two lieutenants and about 40 men, and wounding about 60. However, our men kept possession of the great platform which they had made themselves masters of; and Captain Whitaker landed with the rest of the seamen who had been ordered upon this service. They advanced and took a redoubt, or small bastion, halfway between the Mole and the town, and possessed themselves of many of the enemy's cannon. The admiral then sent a letter to the Governor, and at the same time a message to the Prince of Hesse to send him a peremptory summons, which his Highness did accordingly; and, on the 24th, in the morning, the Governor, desiring to capitulate, hostages were exchanged, and the capitulation being concluded, the prince marched into the town in the evening, and took possession of the land and South Mole gates and the outworks. The town is extremely strong, and had 100 guns mounted, all facing the sea, and the two narrow passes to the land, and was well supplied with ammunition. The officers who have viewed the fortifications affirm that there was never such an attack as the seamen made, for that fifty men might have defended those works against

thousands. Ever since our coming into the bay, great numbers of Spaniards have appeared on the hills, but none of them have thought fit to advance against us."

From that day in July, 1704, Gibraltar has remained an integral part of the possessions of this country, and though many and prolonged attempts have been made by Spain alone and in combination with France to wrest the "Rock," or "Gib," as it is called by the services who have held it against all comers, they have been always successfully repelled. The great siege between 1779 and 1782 was the most desperate of these efforts, and though our arms were tarnished by our failures in America, the brilliant defence of Gibraltar by the army under General Elliott (afterwards Lord Hothfield), and the relief three times afforded by the British Navy, under the command of Sir George Rodney, Admiral Darby, and Lord Howe, may be regarded as among the most glorious episodes in our history.

The second great naval event in 1704 was the battle near Malaga, when Sir George Rooke gained a victory over a French fleet under the Count of Toulouse, though their ships carried 600 guns more than the British fleet, and were in better condition for action, having just come from port.

After the capture of Gibraltar, on the 24th July, Admiral Rooke proceeded to water his ships on the

opposite Barbary coast, and was returning to Gibraltar when, on the 9th August, his look-out frigate signalled the appearance of the enemy's fleet, which was placed at 66 sail, lying about ten leagues to windward. According to the custom of that day, Sir George Rooke convened a council of war, which resolved to stand to the eastward and engage the enemy. The British fleet continued in pursuit on the following day, and on the 11th August a French ship was forced on shore near Fuengorolo, and the crew quitted her after setting her on fire, when she blew up. The chase was continued, but the enemy were lost sight of on the morning of the 12th, though, when standing in shore about noon they were discovered near Cape Malaga. All sail was crowded and the pursuit was kept up all that night, and when daylight broke on Sunday, the 13th August, they were discovered in line waiting to give battle to the English fleet.

The enemy, says Rooke in his despatch, were found to number 54 ships and 24 galleys, the former being exactly one in excess of those under the command of Sir George Rooke and his Dutch allies, who had 12 ships. The British commander-in-chief was in the centre, with Rear-Admirals Byng and Dilkes; Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van, and the Dutch were in the rear. The allied line bore down in order of battle a little after ten, and

soon the action began, the flag-ship, *Royal Catherine*, with the *St. George* and *Shrewsbury*, suffering more severely than the rest. There was heavy cannonading on both sides, and the enemy made use of their galleys in towing off the more damaged ships, and supplying others with fresh men. About two in the afternoon the van, under the Count de Toulouse, gave way, and the enemy made sail to leeward. On the following day the fleets lay within three leagues of each other, repairing damages, but neither party seemed particularly inclined to renew the action. On the 15th, the wind being fair from the eastward, Sir George Rooke bore down a little before noon till four in the afternoon, when, it being too late to engage, the fleets lay to for the night. Next day the enemy had disappeared, when Rooke filled and bore away to the westward, supposing that they had gone to Cadiz, but on arrival at Gibraltar he learned that they had not passed the Straits. The British loss at Malaga was 687 killed, including Sir Andrew Leake, an officer celebrated for his daring and personal beauty, and 1,620 wounded. The battle was undoubtedly a success for the British arms, as the French fleet set sail for Toulon without again engaging; but though he had lost the *Fier*, of 80 guns, and three other ships, which were either sunk or went down after the battle, the Count de Toulouse had the effrontery to claim a victory, and the king

ordered a Te Deum to be sung in Notre Dame. This is the last naval event in the life of Sir George Rooke, who died on the 24th January, 1709, in his 58th year, and a fine monument was erected to his memory in Canterbury Cathedral, though his name is never likely to be forgotten as long as this country holds Gibraltar.

The Spaniards soon awoke to the importance of the loss of this stronghold, and used every effort to recover it, but Sir John Leake defeated every attempt of the French and Spaniards combined, and before the close of 1704 was assisted by Sir Thomas Dilkes. In the spring of the following year Sir Cloudesley Shovel assumed command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, and assisted Lord Peterborough to capture Barcelona, while Majorca and Iviça were taken by Admiral Leake. In 1707 Shovel aided the Duke of Savoy in his unsuccessful attack on Toulon, and it was while on his return to England on board the *Association* that the gallant admiral met his death. On the 23rd October the flag-ship ran on the rocks off the Scilly Islands, and went to pieces, with the loss of all hands, together with the *Eagle*, Captain Handcock, and *Romney*, Captain Coney. The *Royal Anne*, commanded by Sir George Byng, and the *St. George*, by Lord Dursley, narrowly escaped the fate of the *Association*, and the latter ship had actually struck, but was borne off the rocks by a wave. The body of Sir Cloudesley Shovel was re-

covered from the sea, and interred in Westminster Abbey, where a national monument was erected to his memory.

In 1708, Minorca, the most important and strongly fortified of the Balearic Isles, was captured by Sir John Leake, and it remained in our possession, save for a brief interval, until 1783, when it was ceded to the Spaniards by one of the articles of the disastrous peace concluded by us in that year with our rebellious colonists and the Courts of Paris and Madrid. Fortunately, the acquisition of Malta in the first year of the present century made up for this loss, and gave us in Valetta a place more defensible than Port Mahon.

The British Navy was engaged in no battle of importance between Rooke's victory at Malaga in 1704, and that of Sir George Byng over the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro, in Sicily, fourteen years later. The ambitious Minister of Spain, Cardinal Alberoni, sent an expedition which reduced the island of Sardinia, then one of the provinces of the Emperor Charles, whose Italian possessions we had guaranteed. He also despatched a second armament to Sicily, which then belonged to the Duke of Savoy, consisting of 29 sail-of-the-line, escorting a fleet of transports carrying 35,000 men.

Admiral Sir George Byng, afterwards Lord Torrington, on his arrival off Cadiz, sent a conciliatory

message to Madrid, but his advances were received with contempt, when he sailed for Minorca and thence for Naples, where he heard that Palermo had fallen to the Spanish arms, and that they were laying siege to the Castle of Messina ; on which, embarking 2,000 Imperial troops, the province of Naples being then an appanage of the House of Austria, the admiral left the bay on the 6th August, and three days later arrived off the Faro di Messina. Sir John sent his flag-captain, Saunders, to the Spanish general, the Marquis de Lede, with a proposal for a suspension of hostilities, in order that he might "promote such measures as might best accommodate all differences between the powers concerned." The Spanish commander refused to treat, as his orders were to seize on Sicily for his master, the King of Spain, and as further negotiations were fruitless, Admiral Byng expressed his intention to "use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominion his master stood engaged to defend."

The British admiral immediately weighed anchor, and sending the Austrian troops to Reggio, stood under a crowd of sail through the Straits of Messina in pursuit of the Spanish fleet, which he sighted about noon off Cape Passaro, drawn up in line-of battle. Admiral Castaneta had under his command 27 ships, besides six smaller vessels, carrying 1,284

guns and 8,800 men, while that of Sir George Byng consisted of 21 ships, with 1,380 guns and 8,800 men, so that the latter had a slight superiority in guns.

On sighting the English fleet, Castaneta made sail, but his adversary gained on him during the night, and on the morning of the following day, the 11th August, the Spanish admiral, finding he could not shake off his persistent adversary, prepared to accept the challenge, though the action cannot be called a stand-up battle, but was rather a running fight.

The first gun was fired at ten o'clock, the *Orford*, Captain Falkingham, and *Grafton*, Captain Haddock, being the most prominently engaged. The former engaged and captured the *Santa Rosa*, 64; and the *Kent*, Captain Matthews, took the *Santa Carlos*, 60, after a feeble resistance. The *Grafton*, commanded by one of the most enterprising officers in the navy, rendered good service throughout the day. After first firing broadsides into these ships, so as to enable his consorts coming up astern to tackle them, he passed on under a press of sail, and attacked the *Principe de Asturias*, carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral Chacon. Again he adopted the same tactics, and as soon as the *Breda* and *Captain* closed up, he left them to deal with her, and stood after another ship. The *Asturias* soon struck to her opponents, and

Castaneta was overhauled by the *Kent* and *Superb*, Captain Masters, when a running fight ensued for two hours between these seventy-fours and the flag-ship, supported by two other ships. About three the *Kent*, having neared the *St. Philip*, passed under her stern, into which she poured a raking broadside, and came up on her lee quarter, while at the same time the *Superb* attacked her on the other quarter, when Castaneta hauled down his flag, having lost 200 men killed and wounded.

Sir George Byng's flag-ship, the *Barfleur*, of 90 guns, was engaged with two Spanish sail of 60 guns, one carrying the flag of Admiral Guevara, but they stood in for the land, and being to windward managed to make their escape. The defeat was complete, and ship after ship struck to the English fleet. The *Dorsetshire*, of 80 guns, with the flag of Admiral Delaval, captured the *Isabella*, 60, the *Essex* took the 36-gun frigate *Juno*, and the *Volante*, 44, struck to the *Montague* and *Rupert*.

Sir George Byng detached a squadron under Captain Walton to hunt up the crippled ships, and that officer wrote a despatch as laconic perhaps as any recorded, save Cæsar's. It was thus worded: "We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin." The ships captured were the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Mari, of 60 guns, one ship of 50

guns, one of 40, and one of 24, besides a bomb-vessel and a transport laden with arms. Four ships-of-war were burnt—one of 54 guns, one of 40, and one of 30 guns—also a fire-ship and bomb-vessel.

Of 27 sail there only escaped, besides the *St. Louis*, flag-ship of Admiral Guevara, 11 sail, including the *St. Ferdinand*, carrying the flag of Admiral Cammock (an officer of Irish birth, who had served long in the British Navy), which subsequently sank. Though more numerous than the attacking fleet, the Spanish ships were mostly weak and old, and the artillery was inferior, while no reliance could be placed in the seamen, who, though brave, had little training. Admiral Cammock was aware of their inferiority, and urged Castaneta to anchor his ships with their broadsides presented to the enemy, but he and his countrymen refused to be guided by the opinions of a foreigner, and incurred as crushing a defeat as ever a fleet met at sea.

Admiral Castaneta's flag-ship, *St. Philip*, was destroyed by fire at Port Mahon, and the admiral, who, being severely wounded, was landed in Sicily, died from the injuries received.

We will give some details from the Spanish official account. The writer says: "The whole division of the English admiral, which consisted of seven ships-of-the-line and a fire-ship, having attacked the *Royal*

St. Philip at two in the afternoon, the fight began by a ship of 70 guns and another of 60, from which he received two broadsides, and advancing towards the *Royal St. Philip*, Don Antonio de Castaneta defended himself so well that the said two ships retired, and two others, viz., one of 80 guns and the other of 70, renewed the attack. The said ship of 80 guns retired very much shattered, without making into the line, but others making towards the Spanish admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impossible for him to hurt them, and shot away all his rigging, without leaving him one entire sail; while two others, one of 30 and the other of 60 guns, attacked the starboard of his ship, to oblige him to surrender, but he defending himself till the English admiral was resolved to board him, and carried a fire-ship to reduce him by the flames, which the Spanish commander prevented. But after having lost 200 men and maintained the fight till night, Don Antonio de Castaneta received a shot which pierced his left leg and wounded his right heel; nevertheless he continued to defend himself, till a cannon bullet, having cut a man in two, the pieces of which fell upon him and left him half-dead, he was forced to surrender. The *Prince of Asturias*, commanded by Don Fernando Chacon, was at the same time attacked by three ships of equal force, against which he defended himself valiantly, avoiding being boarded, till, being

wounded and having lost most of his men, he was obliged to surrender his ship, which was all shot through and through, after having shot down the masts of an English ship that retired out of the fight. Captain Don Antonio Gonsales, commander of the frigate *St. Rosa*, defended himself above three hours against five English ships, which did not take him till after they had broken all his sails and masts. The *Volante*, commanded by Captain Don Antonio Escudero, fought three hours and a half against three English ships, and, having lost his sails, he put up others that were in store, and was just going to board one of the three English ships that attacked him, but his own being shot through and through by six cannon bullets and the water coming in, he was obliged to surrender because the ship's crew forced him. The *Juno* was engaged also by three English ships, yet maintained the fight above three hours, not surrendering till after most of her men were killed and the ship just falling to pieces. Captain Don Gabriel Alderete also defended the frigate called *Pearl* against three English ships, for three hours, and having shot down the masts of one, which immediately retired, he was relieved by Admiral Don Balthazar de Guevara, and had the good fortune to escape to Malta. Captain Don Andrea Reggio, who was farthest advanced with the ship *Isabella*, was pursued all that night by several English ships, and after having

defended himself for four hours, he surrendered the next day. The frigate called the *Surprise*, which was one of Marquis de Mari's division, and by consequence further advanced than the others, was attacked by three English ships, and maintained a fight for three hours, till the Captain Don Michael de Sada, being wounded, most of her men killed, and all her rigging spoiled, she was forced to surrender. The other light ships and frigates of the Spanish squadron not already mentioned, retired to Malta and Sardinia, as did also the Admiral Don Balthazar de Guevara, with his two ships, *St. Louis* and *St. John*, after having been engaged with the English admiral, and having rescued the frigate called the *Pearl*. It must not be forgotten that the maimed in every ship signalised and distinguished themselves with a great deal of valour, they being composed of the nobility of Spain. The seven galleys, which were under the command of Admiral Don Francisco de Grimas, having done all that was possible to join the Spanish ships, seeing that there was still a fresh gale of wind, retired to Palermo. Besides the above-named ships which the English took out of the main body of the Spanish squadron, they also made themselves masters of the *Royal*, and of two frigates, *St. Isador* and *Eagle*. Those that were burnt by order of the Marquis de Mari are two bomb-galleys, a fire-ship, and the *Esperanza* frigate ; so that the ships which escaped

out of the battle are the following: *St. Louis, St. John, St. Ferdinand,* and *St. Peter,* and the frigates, *Hermione, Pearl, Galera, Porcupine, Thoulouse, Lyon, Little St. John, Arrow, Little St. Ferdinand,* a bomb-galley, and a ship of Pintado. This is the account of the sea-fight which was at the Height of Abola, or the Gulf of l'Ariga, in the Canal of Malta, between the Spanish and English squadrons, the last of which, by ill faith and superiority of their strength, had the advantage to beat the Spanish ships singly, one by one, and it is believed, by the defence the Spaniards made, that if they had acted jointly, the battle would have ended more happily for them."

No action of any importance occurred, with the exception of Admiral Matthews' indecisive affair with the French fleets off Toulon in February, 1744, until the victories gained off Finisterre by Admirals Anson and Hawke on the 3rd May and 14th August, 1747, respectively.

Admiral Anson—the same officer who made the famous voyage of circumnavigation, the account of which forms such interesting reading for all ages and classes—sailed from Plymouth on the 3rd April on board the *Prince George,* 90, with the *Devonshire,* 66, carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral Warren, 10 sail-of-the-line, two 50-gun ships, and the *Ambuscade,* 40, a French prize, besides four armed ships of the East India Company.

The admiral cruised off Cape Finisterre until the 3rd May, when the French fleet of 38 men-of-war and armed merchantmen hove in sight. The enemy tried to escape, but Anson threw out the signal for the chase, and his old ship, the *Centurion*, 60, now commanded by Captain Dennis, first came up with the enemy and attacked the rearmost, on which two others dropped astern to assist her. As soon as other English vessels came up the action became general, and was warmly contested on both sides for about two hours and a half. By this time six French ships-of-the-line and four armed merchantmen had struck their colours, among the prisoners being both their admirals, and the remainder sought safety in flight. Our loss this day was 520, but the victory was in every way satisfactory, and was a presage of the long succession that followed over the same enemy, culminating with Trafalgar.

On the 9th August following, Admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth with 14 ships, with the object of destroying an immense convoy of merchantmen lying in Basque roads. He carried his flag in the *Devonshire*, of 66 guns, which, with the *Edinburgh*, 70, Captain Coles, was the largest in the fleet, among the others being the 60-gun ship *Lion*, Captain Scott ; *Princess Louisa*, Captain Watson (Clive's coadjutor at the re-capture of Calcutta ten years later) ; and *Eagle*, commanded by Captain George

Brydges Rodney, an officer destined to attain immortality as the victor in one of the greatest of naval engagements.

Meantime Admiral L'Etendeur had sailed three days before from his anchorage, in charge of his convoy, and on the 14th August the two fleets encountered each other off Cape Finisterre. Admiral Hawke made all sail to close his enemy, who first awaited the attack in line of battle, having despatched his convoy under the escort of the *Content*. Though his ships were mostly larger and more powerful in the crews and guns they carried, yet the disparity of eight to fourteen was so much in favour of the English that when he had given his convoy a chance of making head, he followed with his fleet.

Admiral Hawke now hoisted the signal for a general chase, and shortly before noon the *Lion* and *Princess Louisa* came up with the rearmost of the enemy's ships and opened fire. The action now became general, and soon the *Severn*, 56, surrendered to the *Devonshire*, but Admiral Hawke, without taking possession, pushed on to engage the *Tonnant*, of 80 guns, carrying M. L'Etendeur's flag, which, with the *Intrepide*, 74, had almost overpowered the *Eagle* and *Edinburgh*.

As the *Devonshire* ranged up she fell foul of the *Eagle*, which, owing to her wheel having been shot away, was drifting about in an unmanageable condi-

tion, and thus both ships were subject to the fire of the powerful *Tonnant*, without being able to return it effectively. The *Tonnant* took ample advantage of the confusion and poured her heavy broadsides into the *Devonshire*, which in replying carried away the breechings of her lower-deck guns. Fortunately, when matters were in a critical state, the *Tilbury*, 60, Captain Harland, interposed herself between the English and French flag-ships, and took off the fire of the latter. This gave Hawke an opportunity of replacing his breechings by new ones, when the *Devonshire* returned to the attack. First she laid herself alongside the *Trident*, 64, which she captured, and then she engaged the *Terrible*, 74, which also struck her flag.

Meantime the *Neptune* surrendered to the *Yarmouth*, 64, commanded by Captain Saunders, afterwards Sir Charles Saunders, one of the finest officers in the navy, who rendered valuable aid to Wolfe at Quebec twelve years later. In the conflict the *Neptune* lost no fewer than 200 officers and men, and was completely dismasted.

The *Kent* took the *Fougueux*, 64, a ship of the same name as was captured at Trafalgar, and the *Monarque*, 74, struck a little later, and by five o'clock the entire French squadron had been taken, except the *Tonnant* and *Intrepide*—names, by the way, which also appear at Trafalgar, the former in our fleet

and the latter in that of France—which, now that all was lost, set sail to escape.

Captain Saunders made a proposal to chase these ships to Captains Rodney and Saumarez, the latter commanding the *Nottingham*, who had gained great credit by capturing the *Magnanime*, of superior force, some time before. To this they gladly agreed, but owing to her superior sailing qualities, only the *Nottingham* was able to overhaul and engage them. Soon a shot killed Captain Saumarez, on which the *Nottingham* "hauled her wind"—that is, changed her course so as to bring the wind as close to the bow as the ship would lay—and the *Intrepide* and Admiral L'Etendeur's flag-ship both escaped to port.

In effecting this signal victory the British loss was only 154 killed and 558 wounded, while the French casualties, in addition to the loss of six ships, were above 800.

An amusing anecdote is told in connection with this action. In his official letter Admiral Hawke made use of the following expression:—"As the enemy's ships were large, except the *Severn*, they took a deal of drubbing." The despatch was being read to King George II., when on arriving at this part his Majesty, from his imperfect knowledge of the English language, not understanding the term "drubbing," requested Lord Chesterfield, who was reading the letter, to explain it to him. At this moment the

Duke of Bedford entered the closet, and his Grace, having a short time previously been engaged in a fracas on the racecourse at Lichfield, Lord Chesterfield, with his accustomed wit, referred his Majesty to the Duke for an explanation; upon which the King laughed heartily, and expressed himself perfectly cognisant of the meaning of the term.

We will merely refer to a success gained by Admiral Knowles over the Spanish, off the coast of Cuba, which also occurred in the memorable year 1747, when two ships, the *Conquestadore* and *Africa*, were captured, and describe in more detail the victories achieved by Admirals Boscawen and Hawke in European waters in the "Seven Years' War." Before doing so we will mention two remarkable captures made by British ships-of-the-line.

The action fought between the *Foudroyant*, 80, flag-ship of Admiral de Quesne, and the *Monmouth*, 64, commanded by Captain Gardiner, is one of the most memorable in our annals. Gardiner had served as flag-captain to Admiral Byng, and swore that if ever he met the *Foudroyant*, which carried Galissonière's flag in the battle off Minorca, he would bring her to action. This happened on the 7th April, 1758, and the result of a long and sanguinary engagement, in which Captain Gardiner received a mortal wound, was the submission of the *Foudroyant*.

The second notable engagement was between the

Dorsetshire, 70, Captain Dennis, and the *Raisonable*, carrying 64 guns and 630 men—a crew at least equal to her opponent's—when the French ship struck her flag. The *Raisonable* is of special interest as being the first ship in which Nelson served thirteen years later, under the command of his uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling.

CHAPTER V.

Boscawen's Defeat of De la Clue—Hawke's Victory over Conflans—Byng's Action with the French Fleet, and his Execution—Sir George Pocock's Engagement with Admiral D'Aché in the East Indies, and his Capture of Havannah—Ships-of-the-Line lost at Sea or by Fire—Admiral Byron's Action with Count D'Estaing in the West Indies, and Keppel's with D'Orvilliers off Cape Ushant—Rodney's Engagements in the West Indies with De Guichen—Sir Samuel Hood's Partial Action near Martinique, and that of Admiral Graves off Cape Virginia—Admiral Hyde Parker and the Dutch Fleet—Commodore Johnstone at Porto Praya—Sir Edward Hughes' Five Actions with De Suffren in the East Indies—Sir George Rodney's Victory over Count de Grasse on the 12th April, 1782.

In order to baulk the plans of the French Ministry, by which De la Clue was to sail with his squadron from Toulon to effect a juncture with Conflans at Brest, when the united fleets were to embark an army at Havre for the invasion of England, Rodney proceeded to Havre in July, 1759, and bombarded the place so effectively that the batteries were silenced and the boats and stores were burnt.

Meantime, Boscawen blockaded De la Clue in Toulon with a powerful fleet, consisting of his flag-ship, the *Namur*, 90, which replaced a former one of the same name which was lost, with 750 men, off the Coro-

mandel coast of India in a terrible gale some ten years before; the *Prince*, 90, carrying Admiral Broderick's flag, the *Newark*, 80, two seventy-fours, two ships of 70 guns, two of 64, and four of 60, besides 12 frigates. Boscawen having sailed for Gibraltar to refit, De la Clue put to sea, and on the 17th August seven of his ships were discovered standing through the Straits, the other five having been separated during the night.

Boscawen gave the signal for a chase, and overhauling the *Ocean*, 80, flying De la Clue's flag, brought her to action. But her fire shot away his mainmast and other spars, when the French admiral being severely wounded, the officer in command made sail to escape. Boscawen shifted his flag from the *Namur* into the *Newark*, and having overtaken the *Centaur*, which had lost a topmast in action with the *Culloden*, compelled her, assisted by other ships, to strike her flag, after making a gallant defence and losing her captain and 200 men.

At daybreak four of the enemy's ships were observed embayed off Cape Lagos on the shore of Portugal. Of these the *Ocean*, which was aground and had lost her masts, struck after receiving a broadside from the *America*, but the French admiral and part of his crew had reached the land, where De la Clue died of his wound. A second, the *Téméraire*, surrendered to the *Warspite*, commanded by Captain

Bentley, and was brought away but little damaged, while Admiral Broderick burnt the *Redoutable*, 74, as she lay aground, and floated off the *Modeste*, of 64 guns. These names, *Téméraire* and *Redoutable*, became famous at Trafalgar, when the former fought on our side, commanded by Captain Harvey, and the latter engaged the *Victory* and surrendered to the *Téméraire* after losing over 500 men. Boscawen's loss, in accomplishing this great success, was only 56 killed and 196 wounded.

Even greater was the disaster inflicted by Sir Edward Hawke on the French fleet, assembled at Brest under Conflans. Between May and November, 1759, the British admiral blockaded the enemy with a powerful fleet, having his flag in the *Royal George*, of 100 guns, which later foundered at Spithead, when several hundred men were drowned, an event which inspired Cowper to write his noble lines. The other ships of the British fleet were three of 90 guns,—the *Union*, carrying Sir Charles Hardy's flag, *Namur* and *Duke;* seven ships of 74 guns, five of 70, two of 64, and five of 60, besides 10 frigates.

Heavy weather having set in, Hawke was driven off the French coast, and compelled to take refuge in Torbay. The British admiral sailed on the 14th November to resume his station off Brest, when he found that Conflans, taking advantage of his absence, had put to sea; but, as it turned out, this led to the

destruction of his fleet. Hawke came to the conclusion that his enemy had steered for Quiberon Bay to attack a British squadron, under Commodore Duff, which was blockading some transports, and on his arrival off Belleisle, his prediction was verified. It was blowing a gale of wind, and Conflans, on hearing of the approach of his persistent enemy, made all sail to avoid an action, although he had only one ship-of-the-line less. Hawke signalled seven of his fleet to pursue, and soon the *Warspite* and *Dorsetshire*, having overtaken the French ships, opened fire, and were joined by others as they came up.

Sir Edward Hawke reserved his fire for the *Soleil Royal*, Conflans' flag-ship of 80 guns, and ran great risk of grounding, on which the pilot remonstrated with him, when the admiral replied, with the true spirit of a British sailor, "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger, and now you are to obey my orders and lay me alongside the *Soleil Royal.*"

Accordingly, the pilot steered as directed, but as he neared Conflans' ship, a seventy-four, the *Thésée*, had the temerity to interpose, on which the three-decker sank her by a single broadside. Another account attributes the loss of the *Thésée* to the fact of her foundering owing to her captain opening her lower-deck ports in the heavy gale that was blowing. Whatever was the cause, it is certain that Lord Howe, commanding the

Magnanime, 64, had previously engaged her, and when she foundered only 20 of her crew were saved out of nearly 800 men.

The action ended in a complete success for Sir Edward Hawke. The *Formidable*, 80, flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Verger, which had sustained the fire of the *Resolution*, 74, and other ships, and lost 200 men, hauled down her flag, as did the *Superbe*, and later in the day the *Hero* struck to Lord Howe, but the sea ran too high for a boat to be sent on board to take possession. It blew a heavy gale of wind that night, and Hawke, who had great difficulty in preventing his ships from going ashore—a fate which befell some of those of the enemy in their efforts to escape—hoisted the signal to anchor.

Guns of distress were heard in the hours of darkness, and when morning broke the *Soleil Royal* and *Hero* were found on shore, and the *Resolution* lay a wreck with the loss of most of her crew. The *Essex*, 64, which the admiral ordered to her assistance, also went ashore and was lost, though her men were saved. During the morning the *Hero* was burnt, a fate which the *Soleil Royal* met at the hands of her own crew. Hawke reconnoitred seven or eight ships which had escaped up the river, but it was found impossible to approach them, and so firmly were they grounded that they had all ultimately to be destroyed. Thus having effectually counteracted the French plans

for the invasion of England, he put to sea, and on the 26th November was joined at Belleisle by Admiral Saunders, who had returned from assisting Wolfe to effect the capture of Quebec.

The "Seven Years' War" was memorable for successes of greater national importance than these naval victories, though they directly conduced to them by gaining us the command of the sea, to which, indeed, our conquests in India and Canada at this glorious period of our history were partly due.

The only discreditable incident was Admiral Byng's engagement off Minorca, which lost us Port Mahon. This took place on the 20th May, 1756, within three days of the formal declaration of war between England and France. The fleets were well matched as regards force, the French having only 24 more guns, though in men our inferiority was considerable. Our ships also were ill-found, but notwithstanding all drawbacks, a Benbow or a Hawke would at least have engaged the enemy, and not let it be said that an English fleet shirked an encounter with a foe of about the same strength. Admiral Byng was brought to court-martial, and being condemned to death, was shot in Portsmouth harbour on board the *Monarch* on the 14th March, 1757. Great efforts were made to secure his pardon, but the King, influenced by Lord Anson, First Lord of the Admiralty, was obdurate, and the sentence was carried out.

No doubt the effect was salutary, and no officer again evaded an action with an enemy unless in preponderating strength, and seldom even then. This fine spirit was in no way due to the fear of punishment, but was only a revival of the high tone that distinguished the service under Drake, Blake, and Rooke.

In 1757, a British squadron, under Admiral Watson, assisted Clive in recovering Calcutta from the hands of Surajah Dowla, the native ruler of Bengal; and at the decisive battle of Plassey, which, more than any other event, conduced to the establishment of our Indian Empire, a party of 50 British seamen from the 74-gun ship *Kent*, bearing Watson's flag, assisted in directing the fire of the field-pieces on the hostile line. The British squadron was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the surrender of Chandernagore, the principal French settlement on the Hooghly, which was commanded by a strong fort, and France never recovered from this blow in Bengal, although she struggled desperately for supremacy in the Carnatic.

Admiral Pocock, Watson's successor in the command of the fleet, fought two actions with Count D'Aché, in 1758. The first took place off Cuddalore, and was of a partial character. The British squadron numbered seven ships, and D'Aché had two more under his command. Pocock, flying his flag in the

Yarmouth, 64, engaged the French admiral in the *Zodiac*, 74, with great spirit, and the ships assisting were the *Tiger*, *Salisbury*, and *Elizabeth*, flag-ship of Admiral Stevens, while the *Cumberland*, *Newcastle* and *Weymouth*, owing to their having mistaken the signals, were only engaged at the close of the action. The British loss was 29 killed and 89 wounded, that of the French being by their own account about 500.

A second action took place on the 3rd August, off Karikal, but was indecisive, as no ships were taken, though D'Aché made sail for Pondicherry, and thus left the honours of the day to his adversary. In this engagement the French casualties were about 600, of which 184 were on board the *Zodiac*, while the English loss was 200, of whom 31 were slain.

More sanguinary than this affair was the engagement between these champions of England and France on the 10th September, 1759. D'Aché, who had returned from Mauritius with 11 ships, when off Madras met Pocock, who had under his command nine sail-of-the-line, a frigate, and two of the East India Company's heavily armed ships, so that the rivals were not ill-matched. Pocock, in the *Yarmouth*, was in the centre, and the leading ships of the English line were the *Elizabeth*, *Newcastle*, *Tiger*, and *Grafton*, which carried Admiral Stevens's flag. The action was

again indecisive, but when D'Aché quitted the deck on receiving a severe wound, the officer in command "wore" after some French ships which had quitted the line, and the action ceased, having lasted between two and four o'clock. The chief sufferers were the ships in the van, especially the *Tiger*, which had 37 killed and 140 wounded, the *Newcastle*, 26 and 65 respectively, and the *Salisbury*, which was so much shattered that she had to quit the line. The total British loss was 114 killed and 369 wounded, among the former being Captain Michie, of the *Newcastle*, and Captains Brereton and Somerset, of the *Tiger* and *Cumberland*, were wounded. The French casualties were estimated at 1,500, but Count D'Aché kept his fleet intact.

Admiral Pocock returned to England, and left the fleet in command of Admiral Stevens, who, with Admiral Cornish, was present at the surrender of Pondicherry, on the 14th January, 1761, to Sir Eyre Coote, when the power of France suffered a blow in the East Indies from which it never recovered.

In 1760, a French squadron, under that enterprising officer, Thurot, was encountered when on its return to France from the coast of Ireland, by Captain Elliott, when Thurot was killed, and all his squadron, consisting of the *Belleisle*, *Blonde*, and *Terpsichore*, were captured. These ships bore names rendered famous in the annals of the British Navy, at a later

date, by their namesakes, and at the present day all three are represented in our Navy List.

Two memorable events occurred in the succeeding year. One was the capture of Belleisle on the French coast by a military and naval force under General Hodgson and Commodore Keppel, though the island was exchanged at the Peace of Paris, in February, 1763, for Minorca; and the second was the reduction of Havannah by a combined expedition, under the Earl of Albemarle, brother of Commodore Keppel, who served as second in command of the fleet, and Sir George Pocock, who, on his return from rendering important services in India, placed his country under further obligations to him by his success on this occasion.

In this memorable Seven Years' War, victory everywhere crowned the efforts of our naval and military commanders. In the East, the Philippine Islands were wrested from Spain by Admiral Cornish and Colonel Draper; while the French settlement of Martinique, in the West Indies, was conquered by General Monckton, assisted by Sir George Rodney, and Santa Lucia surrendered to Captain Harvey, as did also Grenada and St. Vincent. At the peace, however, all our conquests in the East and West Indies were abandoned, including Pondicherry, Manilla, Martinique, and Santa Lucia, and we only retained Canada.

Though we had lost no ships-of-the-line to the enemy in the wars of the century, some had been engulfed by the sea, or destroyed by fire and other accidents. Among the most memorable of these, since the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel in the *Association*, was the foundering of the *Victory*, flag-ship of Admiral Sir John Balchen, with over 1,000 souls on board, off Alderney; the burning of the *Prince*, of 98 guns, carrying the flag of Admiral Broderick, which had served under Hawke and Boscawen, when nearly all her crew perished; and the loss in a furious gale, off the Coromandel coast, of the *Namur*, 74, flag-ship of Admiral Boscawen, who happened to be on shore at the time. Another ship-of-the-line, the *Ramillies*, was also lost in the Channel, near Plymouth, when carrying Boscawen's flag, and a second time the admiral escaped death, he having quitted her for the shore shortly before. On both these occasions the lives of about 700 seamen were sacrificed, and in the storm off Madras, the *Pembroke* also foundered with all on board. Again, at the siege of Pondicherry, the blockade was temporarily broken by a terrible hurricane, which devastated Admiral Stevens's fleet of eight sail-of-the-line and two frigates. Some were driven out to sea, and the *Newcastle*, 50, *Queensborough*, frigate, and *Protector*, fire-ship, were forced on shore, while the *Sunderland*, 60, and two other ships went down at

their anchors, involving a loss of 1,100 officers and men.

Better known than these catastrophes, because immortalised by the genius of Cowper, was the loss of the *Royal George*, of 100 guns, at Spithead, which capsized while being heeled over to effect some trifling repairs. This took place on the 29th August, 1782, twenty years after the calamity off Pondicherry, and at least 800, and some said 1,000, souls went down in her, as many women and other friends of the crew were on board at the time. The *Royal George* was a favourite ship with Hawke, and carried his flag in his victory over Conflans. At the time she foundered, Admiral Kempenfeldt, considered one of the most skilful officers in the British Navy, was in his cabin and suffered the same fate as a majority of his crew.

In the next war in which England was engaged, she suffered serious reverses. The king and Lord North sought to coerce our colonists in America, a task that merited failure. The disasters were confined to our troops, but at one time the navy was hardly pressed by superior forces, as France and Spain formed a coalition against England, the former to recover Canada and India, in neither of which attempts she succeeded, and the latter, to regain possession of Gibraltar, the loss of which rankled in every patriotic Spanish breast.

Our fleet had no enemy in American waters that could meet them, and held New York, though a squadron, under Sir Peter Parker, suffered a repulse at Charlestown, when three frigates went aground, and the *Bristol*, 50, bearing his broad pennant, had 36 killed and 70 wounded, including Captain Morris (mortally), and the *Experiment* lost 23 and 55 respectively. But when France threw in her lot with the colonists, and Count d'Estaing appeared off Sandy Hook with a powerful fleet, the British Navy had a chance of acquiring fame, and lost no opportunity of bringing the enemy to action, though the French admiral evaded Lord Howe, and retired to Boston.

Admiral Byron now assumed command of the British fleet, and engaged D'Estaing off Grenada, in the West Indies, on the 6th July, 1779, but with no decided result. The British loss was 183 killed and 346 wounded, including Vice-Admiral Barrington. In this encounter, the rearmost ships, *Grafton*, 74, and sixty-fours, *Cornwall* and *Lion*, suffered most, having been exposed to the fire of the whole French line, and the *Monmouth*, 64, was disabled.

In Europe, also, an action was fought on a large scale, but the results were equally indecisive. On this occasion Admiral Keppel encountered Count d'Orvilliers off Ushant, with 30 sail-of-the-line and six frigates, the fleet of his adversary being of some-

what similar force, the disproportion of guns in his favour being too small to be worth mention. Keppel had his flag on board the *Victory*, the same ship which carried Nelson at Trafalgar, and is still in existence, and his admirals were Sir Robert Harland, who hoisted his flag in the *Queen*, 90, and Sir Hugh Palliser, who was on board the *Formidable*. Among Keppel's captains were Jervis, of the *Foudroyant*, so well known to fame as Earl St. Vincent, victor at the battle whence he derived his title, and Captain Alexander Hood, of the *Robust*, 74, almost as celebrated an officer, who was raised to the peerage as Lord Bridport.

Although the fleets were of equal strength, Count D'Orvilliers avoided a battle, on which Keppel threw out the signal for a general chase. After some manœuvring the French admiral, finding he could not elude his adversary, put his helm up with the object of passing to leeward of the British line. The *Victory* opened fire shortly before noon upon the *Bretagne* and *Ville de Paris*, and each ship of D'Orvilliers' fleet as it crossed the line of fire. The van division, led by Harland, sustained little damage, but the rear, under Sir Hugh Palliser, suffered more severely owing to its being exposed to the cannonade for a greater length of time. When the whole hostile fleet had passed, Keppel signalled his ships to wear and follow the enemy, an order which was obeyed by

the ships of Harland's division; but Keppel soon returned to the former tack, the starboard, when D'Orvilliers did the same, thus placing himself on the leebeam of the British fleet. Sir Hugh Palliser, however, owing either to premeditation or a misunderstanding, failed to keep his station, so as to renew the action. When night came on D'Orvilliers, leaving three frigates to display their lights, crowded all sail, and at daybreak Keppel found that the enemy had escaped.

Keppel returned to Portsmouth to repair the damages sustained by the *Victory* and some few ships, his total loss in the action being 133 killed and 373 wounded, and that of the French 163 and 519 respectively.

This indecisive action gave rise to much dissatisfaction on shore and ill-feeling among those engaged. Palliser formulated charges against his superior officer that his fleet was ill drawn up for battle, and that it was owing to the "unofficer-like want of method in his signals that a general engagement was not brought on." Keppel was brought to a court-martial, and confuted these charges, and so great was the popular feeling in his favour that the mob sacked the house of his accuser in Pall Mall and burnt his effigy on Tower Hill, while illuminations were general to express the satisfaction of the nation that he had triumphed over his enemies, as it was generally recog-

nised that Keppel was an object of dislike to the Admiralty from the fact of his holding Liberal political views. The House of Commons passed a vote of thanks to him, but he was so disgusted with his treatment by the Government that he resigned his command of the Channel Fleet. Three years afterwards, when his party came into power, Keppel was created a viscount, and appointed to preside over the Admiralty, and when he died, his friend, Edmund Burke, gave expression to a noble panegyric on his career and character, and described the admiral as among the best and greatest of men.

Keppel made an excellent First Lord of the Admiralty, and it was under his *régime* that copper sheathing was first introduced for ships' bottoms, an innovation his practical experience as a seaman taught him would be very beneficial.

In 1780, Sir George Rodney, one of our bravest admirals, rendered his first important service in command of a fleet by relieving Gibraltar. Among his officers was Captain Duncan, commanding the *Monarch*, the future conqueror of the Dutch at Camperdown, and on board the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Digby was serving, as a midshipman, Prince William, who afterwards ascended the throne as William IV. Off Cape St. Vincent, Rodney encountered the Spanish fleet, under De Langara, who, being in inferior force, essayed to escape, but was overtaken

and suffered severely. His flag-ship, the *Phœnix*, 80, was captured, together with five other ships-of-the-line, and the *San Domingo*, 70, blew up, when all on board perished.

After landing stores and provisions at Gibraltar, Rodney sailed for the West Indies, and, on the 17th April, engaged near Martinique the French fleet, led by Count de Guichen, who had under his command 23 sail-of-the-line and five frigates, the British admiral having five less. After some manœuvring, Sir George made the signal for the fleet to close with the enemy, but several ships of the van division disobeyed the order. Rodney was supported by Admiral Rowley with the rear division, and had it not been for the above misunderstanding a decisive blow might have been struck. The enemy escaped without loss, and De Guichen, after engaging his adversary in a second partial engagement, on the 19th May, returned to Europe, and Rodney sailed for the American coast.

Before the close of the year 1780 the Dutch joined the French and Spaniards in the coalition against us; and the fortunes of England were reduced to a low ebb by the disasters encountered in America, but the navy were as ready as ever to meet their country's enemies on the sea. De Grasse now arrived in the West Indies with reinforcements, raising the French fleet to 26 sail-of-the-line, besides frigates.

With characteristic daring Sir Samuel Hood, second in command under Rodney, though having only 17 ships, sought to bring De Grasse to action off Martinique, but his rival, who had the weather-gage, contented himself with a distant cannonade. The *Centaur* and *Russell* received much damage in this affair, and the British loss was about 200 killed and wounded.

In July of this year, Rodney, whose health was impaired, returned to England, leaving Hood in command in the West Indies. Admiral Arbuthnot encountered off the American coast a squadron of equal strength under Admiral Barras, but with no decisive result, and he yielded the command at New York to Admiral Graves, whom Hood joined towards the end of August. The two commanders sailed, with 19 ships-of-the-line, in quest of the enemy, and on the 5th September sighted the French fleet at anchor near Cape Virginia, under the command of Count de Grasse, who had his flag on board the *Ville de Paris*, of 110 guns. This ship, which was one of the finest men-of-war afloat, had been presented by the City of Paris to Louis XV., at the close of the preceding war, and was said to have cost £156,000, an unprecedented sum in those days to expend on a man-of-war.

The French commander-in-chief, who had a considerable superiority in guns and men, weighed anchor and stood towards the British fleet. The action

commenced after four o'clock, when Rear-Admiral Drake, who commanded the van division, got within range of De Grasse. Soon Admiral Graves arrived with the centre, and was hotly engaged, but Sir Samuel Hood, with the rear division, was unable to participate, owing to the wind being unfavourable. As usual the action was indecisive as well as partial, and, after two hours' cannonading, De Grasse drew off his ships, and though Graves used every endeavour to induce him to renew the engagement, he could not succeed. For three days the fleets were in sight of each other, and then De Grasse retreated to the Chesapeake, and Admiral Graves returned to New York. The British loss was confined to the rigging of seven ships, and the casualties were 236, while the enemy owned to 700.

De Grasse was reinforced by Admiral Barras's squadron of eight ships, and Sir Thomas Graves also received an accession of five ships, but the object to which the French admirals had bent their energies was accomplished when the British army capitulated at Yorktown. It was on the 28th September that the siege of Lord Cornwallis's lines commenced, and to his urgent requisitions for aid, Sir Henry Clinton had replied from New York that 23 ships would sail to his assistance with 5,000 troops. The enemy's batteries opened fire on the British lines at Yorktown on the 9th October, and on the 17th of the month,

when his works were in ruins, and only 100 shells remained in his magazines, Lord Cornwallis agreed to capitulate. On that day, General Clinton had sailed with 7,000 men, but on his arrival off Cape Virginia he had the mortification of learning that the British army had surrendered to General Washington, and the cause of England had received a blow which led to the abandonment of any further attempt to coerce her colonists.

Ill fortune marked some of our naval operations during this disastrous war, and was conspicuous in an action Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker fought with a Dutch fleet, under Admiral Zoutman. Each squadron consisted of five ships-of-the-line and eight frigates, and the encounter took place off the Dogger Bank, which had seen some desperate fighting in our early Dutch wars. Both sides fought with determination, and after nearly four hours' cannonading, Admiral Parker ceased firing in order to repair damages, and Zoutman made sail for his own coast.

Our loss was 109 killed and 362 wounded, and that of the enemy was said to be 142 and 403 respectively, while the *Hollandia* went down the same night from the injuries she had sustained. Though the Dutch admiral claimed a victory, it was a drawn battle, and neither side had the best of it. King George paid a visit to Parker on board his ship, when the admiral expressed his dissatisfaction at

the condition in which some of his ships were sent to sea.

The hardest fighting throughout the war took place in the East Indies, where Sir Edward Hughes and De Suffren, perhaps the best admiral France ever produced, contended in five sanguinary battles for supremacy, but the actions were in every instance indecisive.

The fighting between the English and French fleets commenced before they arrived in Eastern waters, for when Commodore Johnstone, early in 1781, sailed to make an attack on the Cape of Good Hope, De Suffren pursued him with a superior squadron, and, on the 16th April, found him lying at Port Praya in the Cape de Verde Islands, utterly unsuspicious of his approach. Though taken at a disadvantage and outnumbered, and with 1,500 seamen on shore, the British commodore took such measures to meet the attack that he beat the French squadron off with heavy loss, his own being 36 killed and 147 wounded. Johnstone then proceeded on his cruise to Cape Town, but De Suffren had arrived before him, and all chance of acquiring the colony was at an end; accordingly he contented himself with capturing five armed Dutch merchantmen, and, sending three ships to reinforce Sir Edward Hughes, he returned to England.

Before De Suffren's arrival in Indian waters, Ad-

miral Hughes had reduced Negapatam, Trincomalee, and Chinsurah, but the arrival of this formidable adversary deprived him of the supremacy in point of force. On the 16th February, 1782, he sailed to meet De Suffren with eight ships-of-the-line, and the *Isis*, of 50 guns, and on the following morning sighted the hostile fleet of nine sail-of-the-line, two 50-gun ships and three frigates. De Suffren attacked Hughes's centre and rear, to which, owing to the lightness of the breeze, the van could render no aid until a shift of wind enabled it to arrive on the scene, when the French admiral made sail, leaving many of our ships in too crippled a state to pursue.

During the unequal struggle, the *Exeter*, 64, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore King, suffered severely, being attacked by no less than four ships at one time. The naval historian, Beatson, speaks of the intrepidity of the commodore who was second in command of the squadron: "While the battle raged with the greatest fury, the blood of Captain Reynolds was dashed over him by a cannon-ball, in such a manner that he was for a time absolutely blinded. Still, however, he preserved a most admirable equality and composure of temper, and when, at the close of the action, the *Exeter* was little better than a floating wreck, the master came to ask him what he should do with the ship, as two of the enemy were again bearing down on her, he with great

firmness answered, 'There is nothing to be done but to fight her till she sinks.'" The captain of the flag-ship, *Superb*, was killed, as well as Captain Reynolds, of the *Exeter*, and these two ships suffered the most in the action.

Sir Edward Hughes repaired the damages sustained by his squadron, which was reinforced by the *Sultan*, 74, and *Magnanime*, 64, whose crews, however, were not very efficient owing to severe sickness. But the gallant admiral's only anxiety was to drive his equally determined adversary from the sea, and he sailed without loss of time, and on the 12th April, 1782, the very day on which Sir George Rodney gained his splendid victory over De Grasse in the West Indies, a second action took place, though with results not more decisive than the first. De Suffren, who had now 12 ships under his command, made a dead-set at pistol-shot range on the British admiral, with his ship, the *Hero*, assisted by the *Orient*. Even greater were the odds the *Monmouth* had to meet. At first she was attacked by two ships, but when the *Hero* sheered off from the *Superb* she closed with the *Monmouth*, which at one time was in danger of being captured, as her main and mizen-masts were shot away, and she drifted out of the line. Just then the *Sultan* and *Superb* came to her aid, and she was saved from destruction or the necessity of striking her flag. Soon

after six, Admiral Hughes, finding himself in shoal water, signalled his squadron to anchor, and De Suffren, hauling his wind, stood out to sea.

As before, the losses fell on a few ships. Thus out of 137 killed and 430 wounded, the *Superb* lost 62, including two lieutenants and the master, slain, and 96 wounded; and the *Monmouth* had 46 in the former category and 102 in the latter, being almost one-third her complement. The French placed their casualties at 139 killed and 264 wounded.

Sir Edward Hughes returned to Trincomalee, whence, after refitting his ships, he sailed on the 23rd June. A third encounter took place on the 6th July near Negapatam, and was as severely contested as the others, but with an equally negative result. One ship struck to the *Sultan*, but, contrary to the usages of war, rehoisted her colours and escaped. The British loss was 77 killed, including the newly-appointed captain of the *Superb*, and 233 wounded, but the casualties of the enemy were stated to be 412 and 676 respectively.

A fourth time the champions of England and France met, when the British fleet consisted of 11 sail-of-the-line, the 50-gun ship *Isis*, and four frigates, while De Suffren had one more seventy-four, and all his ships had larger crews, and in other respects offered a favourable contrast to their rivals. This action was fought on the 3rd September, off Trincomalee, and

was as hotly contested and indecisive as the others. The *Worcester* suffered severely until the *Monmouth* came to her assistance, and lost her maintop-mast. The admirals were closely engaged, but at 5.30, after the cannonade had lasted three hours, De Suffren, who had lost his main and mizen masts, stood in towards Trincomalee, where Admiral Hughes did not attempt to follow him. While making for the anchorage the *Orient* grounded and became a total wreck. In this battle the captains of the *Worcester*, *Sultan*, and *Isis*, together with 51 men, were killed, and 283 of all ranks were wounded.

Sir Edward Hughes first made his way to Madras, and thence sailed for Bombay. Here he refitted his shattered squadron, and, for the fifth time, the fleets met again off the old battle-ground near Trincomalee, which, as well as Cuddalore, had fallen into the hands of the French commander.

Admiral Hughes had under his command in this final action of the war, 16 sail-of-the-line, two 50-gun ships, and 12 frigates and sloops, but his adversary had been largely reinforced and was again in superior strength.

The fight was begun, on the 20th June, 1783, by De Suffren, who was to windward, bearing down on the British fleet, and was contested with great obstinacy for three hours, but there was again no result. Our loss was 99 killed and 431 wounded,

but that of the enemy was not known. News was received of the signature of the preliminaries of peace when the admirals, with a pertinacity and courage beyond praise, were preparing for yet another trial of strength, and so the war in the East terminated both on land and sea. What the condition of the ships' crews must have been at the end of the protracted conflict may be gathered from the fact that over and above the losses incurred by climate, and the original undermanning of some of the ships, the total casualties in killed and wounded were 1,866.*

In Europe Admiral Kempenfeldt, who soon after met his death in the *Royal George*, had a successful encounter with the enemy. While cruising off Ushant on the 12th December, with 12 sail-of-the-line and five frigates, he found himself confronted with a superior French fleet of 21 ships and six frigates, which was escorting a vast convoy of merchantmen. Kempenfeldt, who was one of the best tacticians of the day, displayed his skill by evading a conflict, and while drawing off his ships without loss

* The *Superb* had lost 324 men killed and wounded; the *Hero*, 120; the *Sultan*, 117; the *Magnanime*, 63; the *Monmouth*, 103; the *Monarca*, 143; the *Burford*, 155; the *Sceptre* (joined at the fourth action), 89; the *Eagle*, 69; the *Exeter*, 262; the *Worcester*, 106; the *Isis* (a 50-gun ship), which was one of those engaged at Port Praya, under Commodore Johnstone, 148. Of the ships that took part only in the last engagement, the casualties of the *Cumberland* were 13; the *Bristol*, 10; the *Africa*, 30; the *Gibraltar*, 46; the *Inflexible*, 36; and the *Defence*, 45.

succeeded in capturing 15 transports and trading-ships.

The last year of the war in Europe was rendered memorable by the successful relief of Gibraltar by Lord Howe, the third time supplies and reinforcements had been thrown into the fortress. Sir George Rodney had effected the first relief in January, 1780, and Admiral Darby the second in the following year, but the garrison were again in great straits when Lord Howe arrived from England in command of a splendid fleet of 36 sail-of-the-line, eight frigates, and several fire-ships, which had under convoy a vast fleet of victuallers and store-ships.

Among the captains serving under Howe's flag were Sir John Jervis, captain of the *Foudroyant*, 74, who had gained the Ribbon of the Bath for his capture of the *Pégase*, of like force; Captain Duncan, the conqueror of the Dutch fleet at Camperdown fifteen years later, who commanded the *Blenheim*, and Rear-Admiral Sir Alexander Hood, Howe's second-in-command in the great victory off Cape Ushant; Captain Hyde Parker, who had command of the fleet when Nelson reduced Copenhagen; and Commodore Hotham, who also had Nelson under him when he commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean.

Lord Howe, with his flag flying on board the *Victory*, came in sight of Gibraltar on the 11th October, and bore down in line-of-battle upon the superior

combined fleets of France and Spain, which shunned the conflict. After landing supplies at "the Rock," and thus effecting the final relief of the brave garrison which, under General Elliott, had for three years maintained the struggle against overwhelming forces, Lord Howe offered the enemy battle; but the allies would not accept the challenge, though they had six more sail-of-the-line, one of which, the *Santissima Trinidada*, was a four-decked ship of 130 guns, the largest man-of-war in the world, which survived to fight in Jervis's action off Cape St. Vincent, in 1797, and again at Trafalgar eight years later, where her career terminated in her capture and loss in the gale that succeeded the battle. After detaching eight ships to the West Indies and six to the coast of Ireland, Lord Howe returned to England with the remainder of his fleet.

But the most remarkable naval incident of this war was the great victory achieved in the West Indies over Count de Grasse by Sir George Rodney. It is recorded in the "Life" of the admiral, by Mundy, that when Rodney was on the eve of sailing for the West Indies, to assume command of the British fleet, Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, declared to him that "the fate of the Empire was in his hands," but unhappily the surrender at Yorktown had altered the condition of affairs in the Western world so greatly to our disadvantage that nothing it

was in the power of the great admiral to effect could alter the disastrous issue of the struggle with our colonists.

Before his arrival at Barbados, Sir Samuel Hood, who was in temporary command, having refitted the fleet at New York, sailed to the West Indies with 22 ships-of-the-line, and managed very cleverly to outwit the Count de Grasse, who was engaged in reducing Basseterre, in St. Kitts, with seven more ships than his adversary had under his command. Hood, having induced De Grasse to leave the anchorage in order to attack him, slipped in and brought to off the town, then besieged by a strong force of troops. The French admiral made three furious attacks on as many successive days on the British fleet, but was repulsed each time with a loss, it is said, of 1,000 killed and wounded, that of the English being a little over 300. Notwithstanding his successful resistance Hood was unable to save the island from being conquered by the enemy, and a like fate befell the islands of Nevis and Montserrat, as well as Demerara and Essequibo.

The arrival of Rodney at Barbados brought up the strength of the British fleet to 34 sail-of-the-line, besides 12 frigates, against 36 of the enemy. But although De Grasse had nearly 6,000 troops under his command, in addition to the stronger crews habitually carried by French ships, the British fleet

was in better condition, and a comparison of the relative strength of the two commanders was not unfavourable to the English.

Sir George Rodney took post at St. Lucia, from which to Port Royal Bay, in Martinique, where De Grasse was stationed, he placed a line of frigates to give him notice of the departure of the French commander-in-chief. At daybreak on the 8th April the enemy weighed anchor, and so quickly did the signalling ships apprise the British admiral of the fact, that by noon his whole fleet was clear of the land and steadily in pursuit. Before sunset the combatants came in sight of each other, when De Grasse, finding that he could not elude his vigilant foe, dismissed his convoy and stood on under all sail. The chase was continued all night, and at early morning the French fleet was seen by Sir Samuel Hood, who commanded the van division, the others being a long way astern, becalmed under the lee of the high land of Dominica. Observing Hood's unsupported condition, De Grasse, influenced by the idea that he could capture and destroy him before the centre and rear divisions, under the Commander-in-chief and Rear-Admiral Drake, could arrive on the scene, bore down with 15 ships upon the eight on which Hood could reckon.

The action began at nine o'clock, and at one time the *Barfleur*, of 90 guns, carrying Sir Samuel Hood's

flag, was cannonaded by no less than seven ships, and his others were fully employed. The breeze, which had been light, now freshened slightly, and under its influence Rodney came to the assistance of his hard-pressed second-in-command in the *Formidable*, and the *Namur* and *Duke* followed closely in support. The arrival of these 90-gun ships convinced De Grasse that the attempt to crush Hood would be futile, and about eleven he gave up the attempt and made sail, after despatching two of his most crippled ships to Guadaloupe to refit. The rival fleets now numbered each 34 sail, though two of Rodney's had been severely handled, but were repaired at sea.

While this was in progress the British fleet lay to, but on the 10th April the pursuit was continued, Drake's division being now in the van. The French ships gained on their pursuers, and but for an accident, it is not unlikely they might have got away. At one time the former were almost out of sight, but Rodney continued in chase, and at daylight on the 12th April, as one of their ships, which had lost its fore-mast and bowsprit, was being towed into Guadaloupe by a frigate, he made the signal for some of his ships to chase the disabled craft. On perceiving this De Grasse bore up with his whole fleet to protect her, and thus the battle was brought about. At this time the British ships were on the starboard tack, about five leagues off Prince Rupert's Bay, while the French,

who were on the port tack, were to windward of some islets called the Saintes.

The fleets now slowly neared each other, and Sir George Rodney made the signal for close action, a few minutes after which the *Marlborough*, 74, the leading ship of Admiral Drake's division, opened fire upon the centre and rear of the enemy's line. This was at eight o'clock, and the battle raged for three hours, only Drake's ships being engaged, until, the gentle breeze having freshened, those of Rodney's and Hood's divisions arrived on the scene. At this time the fleets were sailing in opposite directions, but in parallel lines.

The British commander-in-chief now resolved to put in operation a manœuvre, on which he had long determined, and the execution of which has conferred a special distinction on the battle of the 12th April, 1782. About noon, when the engagement was at its height, perceiving a break near the centre of the French line, Rodney directed his flag-captain, Sir Charles Douglas, "to keep a close luff and steer for the opening." The *Formidable* bore down under all sail and was closely followed by the 90-gun ships *Duke* and *Namur*, and the *Canada*, 74, and passing through the enemy's line, she "wore ship" so that their van was placed between two fires. De Grasse made an ineffectual attempt to re-form by bearing up, but he was closely followed by the British centre, and

the arrival of the ships of Hood's division completed his discomfiture.

The historian, Campbell, gives a detailed description of the desperate fighting that ensued. The *Canada*, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis, took the French *Hector*, of the same force; while Captain Inglefield, in the *Centaur*, came up from the rear to the attack of the *Cæsar*, both being 74-gun ships. A sanguinary and hardly-contested action ensued, but though the *Cæsar's* captain had evidently much the worse of the combat, he still disdained to yield. Three other ships came up successively to the assistance of the *Centaur*, but still the captain of the *Cæsar* held out. He is said to have nailed his colours to the mast, and not until he was slain were her colours hauled down, when her masts had gone over the side, and her sails and spars were riddled with shot-holes. The *Glorieux* likewise fought nobly, and did not strike till her masts, bowsprit, and ensign were shot away. The English *Ardent*, of 64 guns, which had been taken by the enemy in the beginning of the war, near Plymouth, was now retaken, either by the *Belliqueux* or the *Bedford*. The *Diadéma*, a French 74-gun ship, was sunk, which some accounts attribute to the broadsides of the *Formidable*, though it has also been said that she was lost in a generous exertion to save her admiral. De Grasse, in the *Ville de Paris*, was nobly supported, even after the

line was broken, and till the disorder and confusion became irremediable, by the ships that were near him. His two seconds, the *Languedoc* and *Couronne*, were particularly distinguished by the aid they rendered him, and the former narrowly escaped being taken in her efforts to extricate the admiral. The flagship, after being much battered, was closely laid alongside by the *Canada*, and in a desperate action lasting nearly two hours, was reduced almost to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was so intent on his design upon the French admiral, that, without taking possession of the *Hector*, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he pushed on to the *Ville de Paris*. It seems as if De Grasse was determined to sink rather than strike to anyone under an admiral; and though other British ships came to the support of the *Canada*, he still held out. At length Sir Samuel Hood arrived in the *Barfleur*, shortly before sunset, and poured in a tremendous and destructive fire which is said to have killed 60 men outright; but still De Grasse endured the repetition of this fire for about a quarter of an hour longer. He then struck his flag to the *Barfleur*, and surrendered his sword to Sir Samuel Hood; and it was said, that at the time the *Ville de Paris* struck, there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, of whom the brave admiral of France was one.

Long before the surrender of the *Ville de Paris*, the

greater portion of the French fleet had taken flight, and were pursued by their victorious enemy; but Rodney, soon after sunset, recalled his ships, and was enabled to take account of the success he had achieved. One ship had been sunk and five were taken, one of which, the *Cæsar*, took fire during the night and was destroyed, when 400 men perished, as well as the prize crew of one lieutenant and 50 seamen. Rodney lay under Guadaloupe for three days, repairing his fleet, but on the 17th he despatched Sir Samuel Hood with a portion of his division to try and pick up any of the enemy's ships that had suffered. That admiral came up with five sail near the Mona passage, when the 64-gun ships *Caton* and *Jason* struck to the *Valiant*, commanded by Captain Goodall, after exchanging a few broadsides. The 32-gun frigate, *Aimable*, and the *Ceres*, of 16 guns, were also taken. Thus six out of the eight line-of-battle ships captured remained in the possession of the victors. A train of artillery was also captured on board the *Ville de Paris*, together with 36 chests of money, intended for the pay of the troops detailed for the capture of Jamaica.

The exact loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was never ascertained, but the flagship alone had 400 men slain. The British fleet also suffered severely, losing in the actions of the 9th and 12th April, 267 killed and 766 wounded. Among the slain were

Captains Mayne and Blair, who had been present in Admiral Hyde Parker's action in the preceding year with the Dutch fleet; and Lord Robert Manners, son of the Marquis of Granby, the distinguished English general of the "Seven Years' War," died of wounds received in the action. The victory was one that greatly raised Rodney's reputation, for what material superiority existed was on the side of the enemy. On this point he writes to his wife :—"Count De Grasse, who is at this moment sitting in my stern gallery, tells me that he thought his fleet superior to mine, and does so still, though I had two more in number. And I am of his opinion, as his was composed of all large ships, and 10 of mine were sixty-fours."

Sir George Rodney despatched his six prizes to England, under charge of Admiral Graves, escorted by the seventy-four-gun ships, *Ramillies*, *Centaur*, and *Canada*, and the *Pallas*, but only two of the former were destined to arrive in port. The squadron encountered a violent tempest, in which the *Ville de Paris* and *Glorieux* foundered with all on board; the *Centaur* was driven by the storm on the American coast, and the *Hector* had to be abandoned. The *Pallas*, of 36 guns, was run ashore at Fayal, and became a total wreck. It was computed that 3,500 men perished, and many of the survivors suffered great hardships, especially a boat's crew of the *Cen-*

taur, who, with their captain, named Inglefield, experienced for sixteen days terrible privations in an open boat, there being little food and only two quarts of water in the cutter. But though the actual outcome of the great victory, if measured by prizes brought to port, was small, the honour gained was great, and it acted as a grateful salve to the wounded vanity of the people of this country, who were smarting under the disasters experienced in the bootless attempt to coerce the colonists.

Rodney was raised to the peerage, with a perpetual pension of £2,000 a year. Sir Samuel Hood, his second in command, received an Irish peerage; and Rear-Admiral Drake and Commodore Affleck were made baronets. Parliament voted its thanks to the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet; and national monuments were raised to Lord Robert Manners and Captains Mayne and Blair. Early in August Lord Rodney sailed for England, leaving Admiral Pigot, who had been sent to assume the command, in charge of the fleet on the West Indian station. The victorious admiral survived for ten years, and at his decease, in 1792, a magnificent monument was erected to his memory, at the expense of the nation, in St. Paul's Cathedral.

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CHAPTER VI.

Outbreak of the Revolutionary War with France—Lord Howe's Victory of the "Glorious First of June," 1794—The Preliminary Fighting on the 28th and 29th of May—Individual Services of the Ships of the British Fleet on the 1st of June—The *Queen Charlotte*, Lord Howe's Flagship—The *Bellerophon—Leviathan—Russell—Royal Sovereign—Marlborough—Defence—Queen—Royal George—Glory*—The *Brunswick* and *Vengeur*.

PEACE with France had only been signed a period of ten years when there broke out the longest, most sanguinary, and most glorious war this country ever waged. Louis XVI. was executed on the 21st January, 1793, and ten days later the French Revolutionary Government declared war against this country, which was received with enthusiasm by all classes; for though Napoleon called us a nation of shopkeepers, and Europe is never tired of endorsing the reproach, yet a declaration of hostilities is always hailed with manifestations of joy by the unthinking populace, who will nevertheless turn against the Ministry in the event of failure.

At the outbreak of war this country possessed a fleet of 115 sail-of-the-line and 107 frigates, while the French navy consisted of 76 battle-ships and 84

frigates. But as the historian James explains in his elaborate and most excellent naval history, this discrepancy in our favour was more apparent than real, as their ships-of-the-line were not only of greater tonnage but carried more and heavier guns; so that by a calculation made our aggregate broadside weight of metal was only 15,000 lbs. more than theirs, the numbers being 74,000 and 89,000 respectively. Their ships also had larger complements of men in every instance.

Passing over the frigate actions, which were very numerous, and, almost without exception, favourable to us, as the scope of this work does not include duels between ships, the first great battle between the rival fleets took place on the 1st of June, 1794, when Lord Howe, a veteran of the days of Anson and Hawke and Boscawen, inflicted a crushing defeat on the French fleet, under the command of Villaret-Joyeuse.

In July of the previous year Lord Howe had put to sea with the intention of engaging the Brest and Rochefort squadrons, but though he sighted them he was unable to bring Admiral Morard de Galles to action. Again, in August, the Channel Fleet sailed with the object of affording protection to the Newfoundland and West India convoys; and yet a third time, in October, Lord Howe put to sea for a cruise in the Bay of Biscay; but Admiral Vanstobel, whose fleet he

sighted on the 19th October, shunned a conflict, and Lord Howe returned to Spithead without bringing the enemy to action. This failure, though due to no remissness on his part, excited much dissatisfaction in England, and also, with more reason, in France, where the Revolutionary Government and populace were enraged at the pusillanimity of their commander. Morard de Galles was, accordingly, removed from the command of the Brest fleet, and Villaret-Joyeuse, an officer of comparatively little experience, was appointed to the command-in-chief, with the object of satisfying his masters of the Convention and accepting the challenge declined some months before by his more cautious predecessor.

Villaret-Joyeuse hoisted his flag on board the *Montagne*, of 120 guns, considered the largest man-of-war afloat, and on the 16th May put to sea with 25 sail-of-the-line and 15 frigates, including three ships of 110 guns,—the *Republicaine*, carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral Bouvet, the *Revolutionnaire* and *Terrible*,—and four of 80 guns, the remainder being 74's.

Lord Howe, having his flag on board the *Queen Charlotte*, of 100 guns, commanded by Sir Andrew Douglas, with Sir Roger Curtis as captain of the fleet, sailed on the 2nd of the same month, with 34 ships-of-the-line and 15 frigates, whose first duty it was to convoy 99 merchantmen as far as the Lizard. Arrived off that point, the British comman-

der-in-chief detached Rear-Admiral Montagu with six 74's to escort them as far as the latitude of Cape Finisterre, where he instructed him to confide their further protection to Captain Rainier, of the *Suffolk*, 74, who had under his orders a 64-gun ship and five frigates.

The fleet remaining under his command after these arrangements were completed, numbered 26 sail-of-the-line and seven frigates, and the flag-officers were Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Hood, in the *Royal George*, 100 ; Vice-Admiral Thomas Graves, having his flag on board the *Royal Sovereign*, 100, which carried that of Lord Collingwood at Trafalgar eleven years later ; Rear-Admiral George Bowyer, in the *Barfleur*, 98 ; Rear-Admiral Caldwell, in the *Impregnable*, 98 ; Rear-Admiral Alan Gardner, in the *Queen*, 98 ; and Rear-Admiral Thomas Pasley, with his flag on board the *Bellerophon*, a 74-gun ship, launched eight years before, which was destined to attain high renown for the part it played at the battle of the Nile, under Captain Darby, and at Trafalgar, when commanded by Captain Cooke, who fell on that glorious day.

Among the most distinguished captains under the command of Lord Howe were Collingwood, Admiral Bowyer's flag-captain ; Westcott, of the *Impregnable*, who was killed at the Nile when in command of the *Majestic*, which, with the *Bellerophon*, suffered more severely than any other ship engaged under Nelson ;

Hutt, of the *Queen*, and Harvey, of the *Brunswick*, who both died of wounds received under Howe; Duckworth, of the *Orion*, who destroyed or captured an entire French squadron off San Domingo on the 6th February, 1806, but failed in the Dardanelles in the following year; and Gambier, of the *Defence*, who commanded at the capture of Copenhagen in 1807. Also Stopford, of the 32-gun frigate *Aquilon*, who reduced Acre in 1840; and Barlow, of the *Pegasus*, 28, one of the most brilliant of the band of frigate captains, who, when commanding the *Phœbe*, 36, took the *Africaine*, 40, which lost no less than 200 killed, including the French commodore, and 143 wounded.

Lord Howe stood across the channel for Ushant, when his reconnoitring frigates reported the presence of the enemy at Brest; but, on returning after a cruise, found that the whole fleet had cleared out. Villaret-Joyeuse had sailed three days before, and on the 17th, in a dense fog, had actually passed so close to the British fleet that he could hear their signals. On the 19th the French commander-in-chief was joined by a 74-gun ship of Admiral Nielly's squadron from Rochfort, which had captured the British frigate *Castor*, commanded by Captain Thomas Troubridge, the early shipmate and intimate friend of Lord Nelson, together with the convoy from Newfoundland he was escorting. The rival fleets were now of the same strength—26 sail-of-the-line—and soon after daylight

on the 28th May they came in sight of each other. Both were apparently eager to engage, a rare case when the French admirals were not in superior strength, but the instructions recently issued by the Convention threatened with the guillotine any officer who failed to fight, or struck his colours until his ship was on the point of sinking. Accordingly a thrill of satisfaction ran through the British line when at 9 A.M. the enemy were observed running down under topgallant-sails to engage them. Both fleets were in a state of high efficiency; and although ten years had passed since our officers and men had been engaged, all the captains owed their preferment to merit alone, while their veteran commander inspired in all ranks the utmost confidence.

Lord Howe signalled his fleet to close, but the enemy, on a nearer inspection, apparently not liking the look of their adversaries, first hove-to and then made sail in an opposite direction, when the British admiral threw out the signal for a general chase. At 2.30 the *Russell,* now the headmost ship, fired the first shot, but it was not until some hours later that the *Bellerophon* was able to open an effective fire on the *Revolutionnaire.* These two ships kept up a running action for an hour and a quarter, when the 74 had suffered so greatly from the superior broadside of the three-decker that she was obliged to bear up. Later the *Revolutionnaire,* which had lost her

mizen-mast, sustained the fire of the *Leviathan* until the advent of the *Audacious*, 74, Captain William Parker. These two were hotly engaged until ten o'clock, by which time the three-decker's fore and main-yards and main-topsail-yard were shot away, and the *Audacious* had suffered to an equal extent. The night was passed by the combatants in repairing damages, and the *Audacious*, after narrowly escaping capture owing to her shattered condition, succeeded in reaching Plymouth, while the *Revolutionnaire* was taken in tow by a ship-of-the-line of the same name as her late adversary and reached Rochefort in safety. Her loss, according to French accounts, in her encounters with the *Bellerophon* and *Audacious* was no less than 400 ; while the latter ship, though almost unrigged, had only three killed and 19 wounded, which augured well for the superior gunnery of the seamen of the British fleet, to which and their greater skill in manœuvring, their victories were mainly due. It need scarcely be added that though the *Revolutionnaire* was greatly shattered, her complement as a three-decker was so much greater than that of a British 74, or than any ship of her own class in our navy, that it was out of the question to attempt to capture her by boarding ; and indeed it is a singular fact that on no occasion in the history of the war was an enemy's line-of-battle ship captured by this method of attack, though it was frequently adopted with success

in the case of frigates when they had been reduced to impotence by a prolonged cannonade.

Both fleets carried a press of sail during the night of the 28th May, running in parallel courses on the starboard tack, and at daylight the enemy were discovered about six miles on the weather bow. There was a fresh breeze blowing, with a heavy sea, when, after some desultory fighting, and much manœuvring, Lord Howe, who had signalled the fleet to pass through the French line, resolved to set the example. Followed by the *Bellerophon* and *Leviathan*, he went about on the port tack and bracing his yards sharp up, left the rearmost French ships, *Tyrannicide* and *Indomptable*, which had been disabled by the *Royal George* and *Invincible*, to be brought-to by his consorts, and luffed close under the stern of the *Eole*, 74, into which he poured a broadside. On passing through the line the commander-in-chief hoisted the signal for a general chase, but Villaret-Joyeuse, finding that the *Orion* and *Barfleur* were overpowering his two rear ships, signalled his fleet to wear to the rescue of the *Indomptable* and *Tyrannicide*. The British admiral, who was only seconded by the *Bellerophon* and *Leviathan*, both now somewhat crippled, found himself compelled by this skilful manœuvre to wear also and follow his adversary, who appeared to have a design on the *Queen* and *Royal George*, which were our sternmost ships. After some further movements

all firing ceased at five, the British fleet retaining the weather gage. The combatants now busied themselves in repairing damages.

The *Queen* had suffered most in the fighting on this day, and the total casualties of the fleet were 67 killed and 128 wounded.* There was no fighting on the 30th and 31st May, owing to the thickness of the weather, which cleared on the second day, but so late as to induce Lord Howe to defer the general action on which he was resolved. At length the "Glorious First of June" dawned with a brightness which was hailed as an omen of the success that was achieved before its close.

Though the French admiral had lost the services of four ships, an equal number had joined him, so that his fleet consisted of 26 sail-of-the-line, all in excellent condition.

The crews of the British fleet were piped to breakfast at 7.30, Lord Howe having previously signalled to attack the enemy's centre to leeward; and a few minutes after eight the ships, which had been lying "hove-to," filled their sails and bore up, and the commander-in-chief threw out the signal, so well known in the English fleet as the last before opening

* Of the total loss the *Queen* had her master and 21 seamen killed, and Captain Hutt, a lieutenant, and 25 men wounded. The *Royal George* lost one lieutenant, a midshipman, and 15 killed and 23 wounded. The loss of the *Invincible* was 10 killed and 21 wounded; and of the *Royal Sovereign*, 8 and 22 respectively.

fire, for each ship to steer for and engage independently the adversary opposite to her. Thus with 25 sail-of-the-line, the frigates being as usual in the rear, the veteran admiral bore down, in line abreast, on the French fleet, which was drawn up in a close head-and-stern line, both fleets being under single-reefed topsails, with a fresh five-knot breeze.

The action commenced at 9.24, when the French van opened fire upon the *Defence,* which was rather in advance of the line. With the signal for close action flying at his masthead, Lord Howe steered for the *Montagne,* of 120 guns, bearing the flag of Villaret-Joyeuse, but before he was in a position to fire a shot, the *Vengeur,* 74, third in the hostile line, opened fire upon him. Still reserving his broadside for a heavier opponent,—a worthier one he could not have had—the *Queen Charlotte* stood on under topgallant-sails until she came abreast of the *Achille,* which also opened fire, to which Howe ordered response should only be made with his quarterdeck guns. But the guns' crews on the other decks, hearing the firing, poured a broadside into the 74 as they passed her, and then, reloading the guns, manned the port batteries in readiness to open fire on the *Montagne.* Passing so close under the great three-decker's counter that her tricolour actually brushed the lower rigging of the British flagship, the latter at the same moment poured a tremendous broadside right into her stern

and quarter-galleries. The manœuvre was repeated by Lord Nelson at the battle of Trafalgar, when he raked the *Bucentaure*, Admiral Villeneuve's flagship, and the destructive effect was much the same on both these historic occasions. Lord Howe had intended to lay his ship alongside the *Montagne*, but just then the *Jacobin*, 80, which stood next in the enemy's line, forged ahead and took up the desired position. On expressing his regret to Mr. Bowen, the flagship's master, that officer, observing by the movement of the *Jacobin's* rudder that she was about to pay off, ordered the helm to be put "hard a starboard," when the *Queen Charlotte*, luffing up, shaved the weather mizen shrouds of the 80-gun ship, into which the next minute she poured her starboard broadside, while she maintained a destructive fire upon the starboard quarter of the French flagship, which lost upwards of 100 killed and nearly 200 wounded.

At first the *Jacobin* could make little return to the fire to which she was subjected, but, dropping astern, she was soon able to bring more guns to bear, and succeeded in bringing down the *Queen Charlotte's* foretopmast. As the French flagship, crossing the bows of the *Queen Charlotte*, quitted the line, the latter became engaged with the *Juste*, 80, the ship second ahead of the *Montagne*, and a furious duel ensued between these two, in which at first the *Jacobin* participated; until, following the example of

the flagship, she crowded all sail, when his lordship hoisted the signal for a chase. In the action between the British three-decker and the *Juste*, the latter was totally dismasted, and the *Queen Charlotte* lost her maintopmast, and was much cut up aloft in rigging and sails. At one time a more powerful opponent appeared in the *Republicaine*, of 110 guns, but just as the guns' crews were preparing to reply to her fire as she bore down on their weather quarter, the guns of the *Gibraltar* brought down her main and mizen-masts and relieved them of the apprehended attack. The *Queen Charlotte*, which had her fore and main-topmasts shot away, lost in the action two officers and 11 seamen and marines killed, and her captain, Sir Andrew Douglas, a midshipman, and 27 wounded.

Villaret-Joyeuse, on overtaking his van, found himself with nine good ships, and, wearing round, stood towards the *Queen*, which was lying in a disabled state, on which Lord Howe, apprehending her danger, signalled his nearest ships to close around her, and wore the *Queen Charlotte* with difficulty on the starboard tack. Followed by the *Barfleur*, *Thunderer*, *Royal Sovereign*, *Valiant*, and *Leviathan*, his lordship stood towards Admiral Gardner's flagship, when Villaret-Joyeuse abandoned the attempt on the *Queen*, and changed his course in order to support five of his disabled ships. In this he succeeded, probably beyond his own expectation, con-

sidering their shattered state, and that some British ships had suffered little and could easily have prevented their escape. These five sail-of-the-line were the *Republicaine* and *Terrible*, both three-deckers, which had lost their main and mizen-masts; and the *Mucius*, *Scipion*, and *Jemappes*, which were totally dismasted. But still the following ships were captured as the result of the fighting, in addition to the *Vengeur*, which sank: — the *Achille*, *Impetueux*, *Amerique*, *Juste*, *Sanspareil*, and *Northumberland*,* all of which were dismasted.

We will now give some brief details of the part taken by each individual ship in the battle of the 1st June.

The *Cæsar* failed to take part in the action, on which the *Bellerophon*, carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral Pasley, had to sustain the fire of the *Trojan*, which ought to have been the *Cæsar's* opponent, and closely engaged the *Eole*, of like force. At the end of about two hours the latter wore out of action, but was

* All the captured ships were of 74 guns. The *Northumberland* took its name from a British 74 which had been captured just fifty years before by two French ships-of-the-line of equal force, after a severe action, in which her brave commander, Captain Watson, was dangerously wounded. The *Northumberland*, taken by Lord Howe on the 1st of June, 1794, performed long and excellent service in the British navy, and among other actions participated in Duckworth's victory off San Domingo, in February, 1806, when she carried the flag of Rear-Admiral the Hon. Alexander Cochrane. The *Northumberland* also conveyed Napoleon to St. Helena, at which time she was flagship of Sir George Cockburn.

followed by the *Bellerophon*, which carried away her wounded fore and main-topmasts, and had all her boats shot away. During the action Admiral Pasley lost a leg, and the ship was so much shattered aloft that she could not haul her wind to chase the *Eole*, which escaped. The *Leviathan* gallantly engaged the *Amerique*, whose foremast she soon shot away. The *Trojan* and *Eole* fired at her when passing to leeward, but she continued to press her antagonist, and shot away her main and mizen-masts. Still though helpless, with one-third of his crew *hors de combat*, the gallant commander of the *Amerique* refused to strike, and Lord Hugh Seymour, captain of the *Leviathan*, in obedience to signals, made sail to join Lord Howe.

The *Russell*, Captain Payne, engaged the *Téméraire*, but lost her foretopmast; on this the French 74 tried to escape, and was followed by her crippled but persistent adversary, which, however, was obliged to give up the pursuit when the *Queen Charlotte* made the signal to stay by prizes. The *Russell* took possession of the *Amerique*, although her capture must be placed to the credit of the *Leviathan*, which lost 10 killed and 33 wounded, that of the *Russell* being eight and 26 respectively.

The *Royal Sovereign*, carrying the flag of Admiral Graves, engaged the *Terrible*, of 110 guns, flagship of Admiral Bouvet, which lost her main and

mizen-masts, when she fell off before the wind, and was repeatedly raked by her opponent. The *Montagne* and *Jacobin* now came to her rescue, and the *Royal Sovereign* commenced a close action with Villaret-Joyeuse's flag-ship, until she made sail, and the British three-decker hauled up in obedience to signal, her loss during the action having been one midshipman and 13 men killed, and 44 wounded, including Vice-Admiral Graves. The *Royal Sovereign* had all three top-gallant-masts shot away, and suffered a good deal in sails and rigging.

The *Marlborough*, Captain the Hon. Grantley Berkeley, played a most distinguished part in this memorable engagement. Passing under the *Impetueux's* stern, she hooked her port mizen-rigging, and the two ships brought alongside of each other with the muzzles of their guns almost touching.

After an hour of this hot work, the *Mucius*, which had been engaged with the *Defence*, fell on board the *Marlborough*, when the fore and main-masts followed the mizen-mast, which had gone over the side. Nothing daunted by these odds, the crew of the *Marlborough* worked their guns with such spirit and success that their opponents were reduced to the same condition of impotence. To make matters almost desperate, the *Montagne*, when passing under the stern of the British seventy-four, poured a broadside into her, by which Captain Berkeley was so

severely wounded that he had to quit the deck. His successor, however, Lieutenant Monckton, continued to fight the ship with unabated spirit until he was compelled to hoist the signal for assistance, when the *Aquilon* frigate towed the *Marlborough* out of action. Both the *Impetueux* and *Mucius* were dismasted, and the latter effected her escape, but the *Impetueux* was taken possession of by the *Russell*, when her loss was ascertained to be 100 killed and 75 wounded. The British seventy-four, in effecting all this damage, did not escape without loss, her dead numbering one midshipman and 28 seamen and marines, and her wounded, besides her captain, two lieutenants, a master's mate, four midshipmen, and 68 of subordinate rank. Sir John Barrow tells an amusing anecdote, in his "Life of Lord Howe:"—"In the midst of the battle, a cock, whose coop had been smashed with shot, was seen to perch on the stump of the *Marlborough's* main-mast, where, flapping its wings, it crowed lustily, as though in token of victory. On the arrival of the ship at Plymouth the bird was presented to Lord George Lennox, and lived to a good old age."

The *Defence*, the leading ship of the British fleet and the first to receive the enemy's shot, on passing through the hostile line, became engaged with the *Mucius* and *Tourville*, and lost both her main and mizen-masts. Her two adversaries then made sail,

and in this defenceless condition the *Defence* was attacked by the *Republicaine*, when Captain Gambier was compelled to signal for assistance. The three-decker soon left her, and the *Phaeton* frigate took her in tow, when her only remaining mast went over the side. The loss of the *Defence* was her master, boatswain and 15 men killed, and two officers and 34 wounded.

Some of the British ships, as the *Impregnable*, *Tremendous*, *Culloden*, and *Gibraltar*, were too far to windward to take an active part in the action, but the *Invincible* engaged the *Juste* before she struck to the *Queen Charlotte*, and the *Barfleur*, flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Bowyer, and commanded by Captain Collingwood, belonging to this division, was more actively engaged, and suffered accordingly, the *Barfleur* having nine killed, and Admiral Bowyer, one lieutenant, two midshipmen, and 21 men wounded. Before describing the gallant part taken by the *Brunswick* in this famous victory, we will give the services of the other ships.

The *Valiant*, which was next in the line of battle to the *Brunswick*, engaged the *Patriote*, and then the *Achille* after the *Queen Charlotte* had quitted her, and having shot away her opponent's main and mizen-masts, brought-to a little to windward of the *Royal Sovereign*. The *Orion* was opposed to the *Northumberland*, which had suffered severely from

the *Queen*, and now lost all her masts, and when she was ultimately secured it was found that her casualties were 180, including a large number of officers. Both the *Valiant* and *Orion* had merely a nominal loss, but suffered a good deal aloft.

The *Queen*, which had first engaged the *Northumberland*, on her getting away, steered for the *Jemappes*, which, being only a seventy-four, tried to avoid the attentions of the three-decker, but Admiral Gardner's flag-ship would not be shaken off, and continued to cannonade her adversary so closely that she shot away her mizen-mast, which was followed by the other two masts. The *Queen* suffered materially from the enemy's fire. Her main-mast went overboard, springing in its fall the mizen-mast, and carrying away the break of the poop, and her other spars were shot through and she was almost unrigged. The crew of the *Queen*, however, had their reward, for the *Jemappes* at length surrendered, some seamen coming up from their quarters below and baring their heads as a token of submission. While the *Queen* was engaged repairing damages, the *Montagne*, flag-ship, and several others bore down to cut her off, when Lord Howe got together some ships to render her aid, and Villaret-Joyeuse gave up the design he had formed. The *Queen* had 14 killed, and three officers and 37 men wounded.

Of the remaining seven ships of the British line,

only the services of the three-deckers, *Royal George*, Sir Alexander Hood's flag-ship, and *Glory*, merit special description. Of the others, the *Montagu* engaged the *Neptune*, and lost her captain—whose name, by a strange chance, was the same as that of his ship—and the *Alfred*, *Ramillies*, *Majestic*, and *Thunderer* took little part in the engagement.

The *Royal George*, passing through the French line between the *Sanspareil*, flag-ship of Admiral Nielly, and *Republicaine*, engaged both ships with the gallantry that might have been anticipated from the reputation enjoyed in the service by Sir Alexander Hood as one of the hardest fighters in the navy. Soon the *Glory*, 98, came to her assistance. She had been engaged with the *Scipion*, 80, all of whose spars she had shot away, herself losing her fore-top-mast and main and mizen-top-gallant masts. After disabling the *Scipion*, the *Glory* ranged ahead and poured her fire into the *Sanspareil*, which had lost her main and mizen-masts under the *Royal George's* heavy broadsides. Both the French ships thus crippled were silenced and fell astern, while the *Republicaine*, which had been raked by the British three-decker, made sail to escape, but, under the pressure of the wind, her main and mizen-masts went overboard. In the action the *Royal George* lost her foremast and her main and mizen-topmasts, and was in too disabled a state to pursue or take possession of

either of her late opponents. Her casualties were only a midshipman and four seamen killed, and her second lieutenant, master, two midshipmen, and 45 of other ranks wounded; but the *Glory* suffered more severely, her slain numbering 13, including her master and a midshipman, and 39 wounded.

On the other hand, the *Sanspareil* had 300 *hors de combat*, though another account places the dead alone at 260. Captain Troubridge, who was a prisoner on board Admiral Nielly's flag-ship, spoke of the fearful carnage on board her when, later in the day, the *Majestic* took possession of her, and he recovered his freedom. The *Scipion*, which escaped, besides being dismasted and having 17 guns disabled, lost 64 killed and 151 wounded. The most remarkable incident of the battle of the 1st of June, even more than the gallantry displayed by the *Marlborough*, was undoubtedly the desperate duel that took place between the 74-gun ships, *Brunswick* and *Vengeur*.

The *Brunswick* was commanded by Captain John Harvey, who had already made a name in the navy for valour and professional skill. His ship was stationed next in the line to the *Queen Charlotte*, and was exposed to a heavy fire as she bore down to the attack. Her proper opponent was the *Jacobin*, but when this 80-gun ship shot ahead, and the *Achille* closed up, Captain Harvey bore up for the interval

between the latter and the *Vengeur*, whose commander, Captain Renaudin, an officer of a character as determined as his adversary, discerning his purpose, closed the space between his ship and the *Achille*. Thereupon Captain Harvey ran on board the *Vengeur* to windward, his anchor hooking the port fore-shrouds of the French seventy-four. On seeing this the master of the *Brunswick* asked Captain Harvey if he should cut the ship clear, to which that officer replied, with true British spirit : " No, we have got her, and we will keep her."

The conflict that ensued was as desperate as anything recorded in naval war. The two ships swung alongside of each other, and their heads paying off before the wind, they dropped out of the line, and in this position kept up a hot and unceasing cannonade. The muzzles of their guns were actually almost touching, and so eager were the British seamen that, being unable to open the aftermost lower-deck ports, they actually fired the guns in-board and blew them off. Thus the ships, with yards squared and locked together in deadly embrace, like two coursers raced before the gale, while furiously pouring into each other broadsides of round and grape-shot. But a fresh danger menaced the *Brunswick*.

On the port quarter of the British seventy-four, a ship, the *Achille*, was seen to be bearing down, with her rigging and gangway crowded with men, ready to

board as soon as she got alongside. To meet this fresh foe, some guns' crews were turned over from the starboard battery to the port side, and down the muzzle of each gun, already loaded with a single 32-pound shot, was rammed a second projectile. As soon as the *Achille* approached within musket-shot range, she was received with a broadside from the aftermost guns, which, by good luck brought down the fore-mast, the only one remaining above-board, the other masts having been shot away by the *Queen Charlotte* and *Valiant*.. The wreck of the rigging and sails, falling on the starboard side, masked the guns of the *Achille* and prevented her from returning the *Brunswick's* fire, and she presently struck her flag. It was, however, wholly out of Captain Harvey's power to take possession, and she soon rehoisted them, but was later boarded, and received a prize-crew. Meanwhile the battle raged furiously between the *Brunswick* and *Vengeur*, the musketry from whose decks and the fire of her 36-pounder poop carronades, loaded with langridge—a species of shot composed of old nails and pieces of iron—played havoc on the poop and quarter-deck of the British seventy-four.

Several officers and men, mostly marines, were wounded by this fire, among them being Captain Harvey, three of whose fingers were torn away from the right hand. Soon after a splinter knocked him

down, but though seriously hurt, he got on his legs again, and continued to animate his men by voice and example. But he was not destined to escape with life from the terrible conflict. A double-headed shot struck his right arm, and he fell to the deck. As they raised the hero to carry him below, he called to those of the men who were about the companion-ladder :

" Persevere, my lads, in your duty. Fight for the honour of king and country, and remember my last words. The colours of the *Brunswick* shall never be struck."

The scene presented by the two ships engaged in this life-and-death struggle, and some of the incidents connected with its progress, are worth recording. Though the musketry fire of the *Brunswick* was inferior to that of her adversary, owing to the number of experienced marksmen the latter carried, the two principal batteries maintained the superiority of their fire. On the lower deck the sailors, profiting by the rolling of the ship, at one time drove home the quoins—wooden wedges adjusted to support the breach of the gun so as to elevate or depress the muzzle—and fired through her ports into the *Vengeur's* bottom, and then removing them, fired upwards and ripped her decks.

On Captain Harvey's removal to the cockpit, the first lieutenant, Mr. Cracroft, assumed command, and the battle raged with fury until, at the end of nearly

three hours, the *Brunswick's* sheet and bower anchors being torn away, the ships separated. At this time the *Ramillies*, commanded by Captain Harvey's brother, closed up under the *Vengeur's* stern and opened fire. One shot split her rudder, another shattered her stern-post, and the third knocked a hole in her counter, through which the water poured in a great volume. "At this spot," says James, "the *Ramillies*, now only forty yards distant, pointed her guns, and, assisted occasionally by her consort, reduced the gallant, but at this time overpowered, *Vengeur*, in a few minutes, to a sinking state, when suddenly, as if perceiving the *Achille* making off in the distance, the *Ramillies* filled and made all sail from the two exhausted combatants, between whom, soon after 1 P.M., all firing ceased."

The French averred that the *Vengeur* never displayed any token of submission, but went down with the tricolour flag flying on the stump of one of her masts; but this is a fiction. As a matter of fact, she showed a Union-jack over the counter, but the *Brunswick* was in no condition to take possession of her.

All the boats of the British seventy-four had been destroyed, and her mizen-mast now went over the side, while her other masts and bowsprit were shot through, and her rigging and sails were hanging in shreds. No less than 23 guns had been dismounted,

her starboard quarter-galley was shot away, and her bower anchor, with the cat-head, was towing under her bottom to the danger of the ship. She had lost a captain of marines, a master's-mate, a midshipman, and 41 seamen and marines, and Captain Harvey (mortally), the second lieutenant, one midshipman, and 110 of other ranks wounded. As she could take no further part in the action, and was unable to rejoin the British fleet, to leeward of which the French commander-in-chief was leading some fresh ships to recover those that had been crippled, Lieutenant Cracroft shaped his course for an English port.

The *Vengeur* was in a desperate plight. Shortly after the *Brunswick* left her, her fore and main-masts went over the side, and with her mizen-mast only standing, she rolled heavily in the trough of the sea, each time taking in floods of water through those port-holes on the port side, the lids of which had been shot away, or torn off while the ships lay alongside of each other. Notwithstanding her condition, the crew rehoisted the French flag and set a sail on the stump of the foremast, but it soon became evident that unless aid quickly came nothing remained but a watery grave for the brave survivors.

Shortly before six o'clock in the evening, the *Culloden* and *Alfred*, with the *Rattler* cutter, approached the fast-sinking ship, and sent boats along-

side to remove the crew. By this means about 400 men, according to the English accounts, were removed to these ships, including Captain Renaudin, who had a son on board, a child of twelve years of age. The father and son were taken on board different ships, and each was unaware that the other was saved until on arriving at Portsmouth they were restored to one another. Notwithstanding all the exertions of the British crews, nearly 200 French seamen went down in the *Vengeur* when she sank.* Though she had actually struck, no circumstance was wanting to make the gallantry displayed by her crew rank among the most heroic deeds recorded in the history of any navy. The total loss of the British fleet in achieving the brilliant victory of the 1st of June was about 300 killed and 900 wounded, while the French casualties were stated to be six times that number. The success was of a decisive character, for though further

* It has always been an article of belief with Frenchmen that the *Vengeur* actually went down unconquered, with the flag of France flying. This legend was first set on foot by Barrère, but the true facts of the case are set forth in James's "Naval History," where it is shown that the *Vengeur* struck her colours before she foundered. Nevertheless, her crew made a most heroic resistance, and about one-third were killed in the action with the *Brunswick* before she surrendered, one-third were rescued by the boats of the British men-of-war (though the English accounts put those saved at a higher figure), and the remainder went down in the ship. Carlyle has said of this *Vengeur* legend, "believed, bewept, besung by the whole French people," that it is "the largest, most inspiring piece o *blague* manufactured for some centuries by any man or nation."

efforts might have been made to capture the five ships dismasted, yet, besides the *Vengeur*, six were captured and actually taken into a British port. Of these the *Achille*, *Sanspareil*, and *Northumberland* did excellent service under the Union-jack.

Lord Howe only survived this crowning achievement of his great career for a period of five years, but before he passed away he was enabled to render his country one more important service. This was in 1797, only two years before his death, when he journeyed down to Portsmouth, though in feeble health, at the special request of Ministers, to induce the crews of the mutinous ships at Spithead to return to their duty. In this task he was completely successful. The mutineers received the veteran, who had grown grey in the service of his country, with affection and respect, and placing implicit reliance on his promise that their grievances should be redressed, they hauled down the red flag of rebellion.

CHAPTER VII.

Admiral Hotham's Actions in the Mediterranean—Lord Bridport's Engagement near Ushant—Sir John Jervis's Great Victory off Cape St. Vincent—Nelson captures the *San Nicolas* and the *San Josef*—Admiral Duncan's Defeat of the Dutch at Camperdown.

BETWEEN the years 1794 and 1797, rendered memorable by two important victories achieved by the British Navy, no action of importance took place. Lord Hood, who as Sir Samuel Hood had been Rodney's second in command in his great defeat of De Guichen, in the West Indies in 1782, sailed with his flag in the *Victory*, in command of a powerful fleet, to Toulon, where the Royalists were in considerable strength. Toulon was surrendered to the British, and a small force of soldiers and marines, with some foreign troops, held the forts. But the Republican Government at Paris sent an army to lay siege to Toulon, which ultimately Lord Hood had to abandon. Sir Sydney Smith blew up some of the forts, together with the arsenal and magazines, and burnt several ships-of-war, and then the British fleet sailed for Corsica, which was conquered after some brilliant

operations that brought Nelson prominently to the front. That officer, then in command of the *Agamemnon,* a small sixty-four, having received permission of the admiral, landed with a force of 1,200 seamen and soldiers, acting as marines, and reduced the town of Bastia, assisted by the fire of some ships. Not less remarkable was his capture of Calvi, on the opposite coast of the island, when he lost an eye while conducting the siege.

Admiral Hotham, who had succeeded Lord Hood in command of the Mediterranean fleet, was twice partially engaged with the French in March and July, 1795. On the former occasion he incurred the wrath of Commodore Nelson by not actively pursuing the enemy. The fiery captain of the *Agamemnon* was of material assistance in effecting the capture of two 74-gun ships, but sought in vain to induce the commander-in-chief to follow up his success. Nelson declared in a letter to his wife, "Now had he taken ten sail, and allowed the eleventh to escape, when it had been possible to have got at her, I could never have called it well done." On this view of his duty Nelson himself ever acted when fortune placed him in chief command.

In the second action Admiral Hotham effected even less. Only one French ship, the *Alcide,* struck, but soon afterwards blew up, when 315 officers and men perished in her, the remainder being saved by the

boats of the British fleet. On the 23rd June in this year, Lord Bridport, Howe's second-in-command on the 1st of June, brought Villaret-Joyeuse to action off Cape Ushant. The French commander, who had 12 ships-of-the-line to oppose 14 British, made sail to escape, but was chased by Lord Bridport, who carried his flag in the *Royal George*, of 100 guns. The enemy were brought to action on the following morning, when the *Tigre*, *Alexander*, and *Formidable*, flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Linois, were captured. The last was engaged by the *Irresistible*, and struck, after a prolonged resistance, to the *Queen Charlotte*, commanded by Sir Andrew Douglas, which also took the *Alexander*. This was a matter of congratulation to the British fleet, as on the 6th November in the preceding year, she had been captured by three French seventy-four's after making a gallant resistance. The *Tigre*, the third of the ships taken, struck her flag to the *Sanspareil*, one of Lord Howe's prizes. All three ships lost heavily, their casualties numbering 670. They were purchased into the navy, and did good service under our flag, especially the *Formidable*, which, under her new name of *Belleisle*, took a prominent part in the Battle of Trafalgar.

Sir John Jervis, who succeeded Lord Hotham in command of the Mediterranean fleet, unlike his predecessor, was not likely to lose any opportunity of bringing the enemy to action, though the coalition

of France and Spain placed his fleet at a great numerical disadvantage. But whatever this might have been, it was, in a measure, compensated by the professional skill of Jervis, who was prominent for his attainments even among his brother officers in the British Navy. To Sir John Jervis the fleet was chiefly indebted for their superiority in gunnery, which, even more than seamanship, contributed to the winning of the battles of the Revolutionary War. At a later period, England suffered reverses, which were due to laxity in keeping up the high standard of excellence in gunnery attained by seamen brought up in Jervis's school.

Sir John Jervis sailed with a squadron from the Tagus, to convoy some Portuguese ships, and on the 6th February, 1797, was joined off Cape St. Vincent by Rear-Admiral William Parker, with five ships of the Channel fleet. He had now under his command the *Victory* and *Britannia*, each of 100 guns, the latter flying Vice-Admiral Thompson's flag ; the 98-gun ships *Barfleur*, with the flag of Vice-Admiral the Hon. William Waldegrave, *Prince George*, Rear-Admiral Parker's flag-ship, and *Blenheim ; Namur*, 90, eight ships of 74 guns, and one of 64. Among the captains, besides Calder, were some who, later, earned undying renown under Nelson, who himself then flew his broad pennant on board the *Captain*. These were Miller, commanding the

Captain, Collingwood, in the *Excellent*, Nelson's second-in-command at Trafalgar; Saumarez, in the *Orion*, his second-in-command at the Nile, and Troubridge, in the *Culloden*, his old shipmate in his voyage to the East Indies on board the *Dolphin*, and his life-long friend, of whom he wrote to Lord St. Vincent, with the noble modesty that was one of his distinguishing qualities, that he felt his own inferiority to the captain of the *Culloden*. There were also Captain Murray, of the *Colossus*, who led in the *Edgar* at Copenhagen; Foley, who commanded the *Elephant*, Nelson's flag-ship on that memorable occasion; Captains Martin and Towry, of the *Irresistible* and *Diadem;* and Captains Macnamara and Cockburn, of the *Southampton* and *Minerve*.

The last-named frigate had brought Commodore Nelson to the scene of conflict the day before the battle, which took place on the 14th February. The *Minerve*, when carrying the great seaman's broad pennant, with Cockburn in command, and while in company with the *Blanche*, Captain Preston, encountered two Spanish frigates, *Sabina* and *Ceres*, and took the former, after a spirited engagement, off Carthagena, while the *Ceres* struck to the *Blanche*. But some more Spanish ships hove in sight, and Nelson was obliged to cast off his prize, and with difficulty effected his own escape.

Nelson brought the welcome news of the approach

of the Spanish fleet, two of which had chased him after leaving Gibraltar. As for the hero, he immediately shifted his flag, as we have said, into Captain Miller's ship, the *Captain*, and was thus enabled to fight in the line of battle.

The Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Josef de Cordova, consisted of 25 sail-of-the-line, while that under Jervis numbered only 15. Among the former were the *Santissima Trinidada*, of 130 guns, the largest ship-of-war afloat, six three-deckers, carrying 112 guns, two 80-gun ships, the remainder being seventy-four's, besides 12 frigates. But the greater numbers of the enemy were amply compensated by the superior efficiency of the British fleet.

Both in discipline, seamanship and gunnery, a good judge of these qualities declared that the fleet which stood in battle array on this occasion had no equal in naval war. Nelson said: "I have never seen any fleet that could compare with those ships that served in the Mediterranean. In comparison with the officers brought up in that school, all others betray a want of resource that surprises me." On the paramount importance of good gunnery Sir John Jervis would say to his captains, "It is of the greatest importance that our crews should be perfect in the use of their guns; I therefore wish that every day, whether in harbour or at sea, a general or partial exercise should take place on board every ship in the squadron."

At daybreak Admiral Jervis summoned his captains on board the *Victory* to receive his final instructions, when he said to them, "A victory is all important for England, and we could never be better prepared to meet the enemy than now." As daylight displayed more fully the strength of the Spanish fleet, his flag-captain, Calder, successively reported their numbers, "Ten sail-of-the-line, Sir John." "Very well, sir." 'Fifteen sail-of-the-line, Sir John." "Very well, sir." "Twenty sail-of-the-line." "Twenty-five sail-of-the-line, Sir John." At this point Captain Calder began to throw doubts on the advisability of engaging so superior a fleet, but the veteran admiral silenced him with the words: "Enough, sir, enough; were there fifty sail-of-the-line, I'd go through them all."

The Spanish fleet was sailing in two divisions, that to leeward, under Vice-Admiral Moreno, consisting of eight ships. Taking the entire fleet at 25 sail, as in the log of the *Victory*, there were 17 under Cordova's immediate orders, or two more than the British fleet, which stood for the break between the two divisions.

Captain Troubridge, in the *Culloden*, had the honour of leading the attack, and having passed the sternmost of the Spanish weather division, tacked to port, as did the *Blenheim, Prince George, Orion*, and *Irresistible*. Meantime, the enemy's lee division steered so as to cut the British line ahead of the *Victory*,

the next ship to the *Irresistible*. Sir John Jervis divined Admiral Moreno's purpose, which he thwarted by his rapid advance, when the *Principe de Asturias*, flag-ship of the lee division, tacked close under the lee of the *Victory*, receiving a tremendous broadside as she executed the manœuvre. The *Victory* followed up this success, as she lay to, by opening fire on the other ships of the lee division, which gave up the attempt to join the commander-in-chief, with the exception of one ship, the *Orient*, which succeeded in doing so.

At a quarter to one, the *Victory* tacked in order to follow up the enemy's weather division, on which Cordova bore up to join Moreno's squadron. This was the crisis of the battle, and it caught the observant eye of one who had as yet not fired a shot. Commodore Nelson, who was third in the rear of the British line, divined the object of the Spanish commander-in-chief, and disregarding the order still flying on board the flagship—that the ships were to "take suitable stations for mutual support, and engage the enemy as they came up in succession"—he directed Miller to wear the *Captain*. This was done, and the ship, passing between the two sternmost ships, *Diadem* and *Excellent*, threw herself athwart hawse of the huge *Santissima Trinidada*. Finding his intention frustrated, Cordova gave up the design of running to leeward of the British fleet

and hauled up on the port tack. It was an audacious movement on the part of Nelson to check the advance of six ships, of which two, besides the flag-ship, were three-deckers, and he was gallantly seconded by Troubridge in the *Culloden*, and a little later by the *Blenheim*, and other ships. Pushing on into the thick of the enemy, Nelson engaged several ships in succession.

The action now became general, and the *Victory*, after compelling the *Principe de Asturias* to retreat, tacked to port, followed by the *Barfleur*, *Namur*, *Egmont*, and *Goliath*, and stood to windward of the Spanish fleet, which was already in confusion. Collingwood, in the *Excellent*, being now ahead of the weather division, at 2.15, in compliance with a signal from the flag-ship, advanced to pass through the enemy's broken line, and on arriving abreast of the disabled Spanish three-decker, *Salvador del Mundo*, engaged her for a few minutes, and then passed on to the *San Isidor*, which had lost her three topmasts from the fire of several of our ships. This seventy-four was the first to strike to Captain Collingwood, and at three o'clock, the *Salvador del Mundo*—which had also lost her topmasts, having been hotly engaged with the *Irresistible* and *Diadem*, when those ships took up their stations on her weather-bow and lee-quarter—struck her flag to the *Orion*, which was about to rake the ship as she

passed under her stern. Pushing on to support Nelson, Captain Collingwood closely engaged the *San Nicolas*, 80, which had lost her foretop-mast in action with the *Captain*. Indeed, it was time Commodore Nelson should receive support, for he writes: "The *Captain* had not a sail, shroud, or rope left her which was not shot away; and she was incapable of further service in the line or in chase." Collingwood interposed his ship between the *San Nicolas* and the disabled British seventy-four, thus allowing the harassed crew a respite to replenish their lockers, and, pouring in a broadside at pistol-shot range, stood on ahead. In luffing up to avoid the *Excellent*, the *San Nicolas* ran foul of the *San Josef*, 112, which had already lost her mizen-mast in action with the *Prince George*, and had also experienced the fire of the *Captain*, *Culloden*, and *Blenheim*.

When coming up to the wind, the *Captain* carried away her foretop-mast, which had been shot through, and Commodore Nelson, taking into consideration her helpless condition, her wheel having been rendered unserviceable, resolved to board the *San Nicolas* as the only alternative. Firing her port broadside into the two-decker, at 20 yards' range, which was returned with spirit, the *Captain* suddenly put her helm hard-a-starboard, and, on coming to, hooked her spritsail-yard into the Spaniard's mizen rigging, while her cat-head came into collision with the

starboard quarter-gallery of the *San Nicolas*. Without a moment's hesitation Nelson boarded the great 80-gun ship, and his hardihood, which in any other man, or under other circumstances, would have savoured of rashness, had its reward in a success probably unparalleled in the annals of naval war.

The first man who jumped into the enemy's mizen-chains was Captain Berry, Nelson's first lieutenant on board the *Agamemnon*, and Captain Miller was in the act of following him, when Nelson directed him to remain on board his ship. Berry was supported by men from the spritsail-yard, which, as we have said, was hooked in the mizen rigging. A soldier of the 69th—a detachment of which regiment was serving on board the *Captain* as Marines—having broken the upper quarter-gallery window, Nelson jumped in, and was followed by soldiers and seamen as fast as possible. The cabin doors were found to be fastened, and some Spanish officers fired their pistols, but Nelson and his gallant men broke open the doors, and the soldiers fired, when the Spanish brigadier, or commodore, as we would call him, was slain as he was retreating in haste. Nelson pushed on for the quarter-deck, where he found Captain Berry in possession of the poop, and in the act of hauling down the Spanish ensign. Accompanied by some men and Lieutenant Pearson, commanding the detachment of troops, Nelson passed along the

port gangway to the forecastle, where he met two or three Spanish officers, prisoners to his seamen, who delivered up their swords to him.

At this time a musketry fire was opened from the admiral's stern-gallery of the *San Josef*, 112, which lay alongside the *San Nicolas*, when Nelson directed the soldiers to fire into her stern; and, calling to Captain Miller, ordered him to send more men into the *San Nicolas*, and directed his people to board the first-rate, which, he says, "was done in an instant, Captain Berry assisting me in the main-chains." At this moment a Spanish officer looked over the quarter-deck rail, and said they surrendered. On receiving this welcome intelligence, Nelson made his way on to the quarter-deck, where the Spanish captain, with a bow, presented his sword, and said Admiral Windthuysen was dying of his wounds. Nelson writes, "I asked him, on his honour, if the ship was surrendered. He declared she was; on which I gave him my hand, and desired him to call on his officers and ship's company to tell them of it, which he did. And on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive the swords of the vanquished Spaniards, which, as I received, I gave to William Fearney, one of my bargemen, who put them, with the greatest *sangfroid*, under his arm." By Nelson's side was Captain Berry and Lieutenant Pearson, John Sykes, John Thompson, Francis

Cooke (three seamen of the *Agamemnon*, who had accompanied their beloved chief into the *Captain*) and several other seamen and soldiers.

Probably most of my readers are familiar with the engraving which represents this historic scene on the deck of the *San Josef*, where Nelson, surrounded by these brave spirits, is in the act of receiving his sword from the Spanish captain, while the honest Fearney, bedecked with the pigtail of the period, stands imperturbably by with a heap of weapons tucked under his arm. It should, however, be noted that the *San Josef* was closely engaged by the *Prince George* at the time she got foul of the *San Nicolas*, and Admiral Parker's flag-ship continued to fire on both ships until hailed from the *Captain* that they had struck.

Meantime Collingwood engaged the *Santissima Trinidada*, then hotly attacked by the *Blenheim*, *Orion*, and *Irresistible;* and Admiral de Cordova, after sustaining for an hour the concentrated fire of these ships, during which the four-decker lost her fore and mizen-masts, and was otherwise much crippled, surrendered by hoisting an English flag. But fortunately the ships of the lee division and some others bore down to his assistance, and saved him from actual capture. Sir John Jervis, observing the approach of these ships, 11 sail in all, signalled the fleet to form a line in his wake, and for the frigates

to take the prizes in tow. This was shortly before four o'clock, and soon after all firing ceased.

The *Captain* lost Major Morris, of the Marines, a midshipman, 19 seamen, and three soldiers killed, and 56 of all ranks wounded, including Nelson, who received a contusion in the groin, from the effects of which he never wholly recovered. Among the other ships engaged the *Excellent* had 23 casualties, the *Blenheim* 61, and the *Culloden* 57. The total loss in the fleet was only 73 killed and 227 wounded. The Spanish losses were much heavier, though they were never accurately known, except on board the four prizes. Of them, the *Salvador del Mundo*, which was dismasted, had 42 killed and 124 wounded; the *San Isidor* lost 29 and 63 respectively; and the *San Josef* had 46 slain and 96 wounded. The casualties of the *San Nicolas* were even heavier. This 80-gun ship had no less than 144 of her crew killed, and 59 wounded. The Spaniards acknowledged that ten of their ships, exclusive of those captured, suffered materially, chief among them, besides the flag-ship, being the three-deckers, *Principe de Asturias* and *Mexicano*.

The British and Spanish fleets lay to during the night of the 14th February repairing damages; and on the following morning Admiral Cordova appeared inclined to renew the action, and bore down in line of battle, but on observing that Sir John Jervis was

ready to receive him, discretion had the better of valour, and he hauled up again. The next day the British fleet, with its prizes, anchored in Lagos Bay, in Portuguese waters, and on the 23rd made sail for the Tagus.

Scarcely less memorable than Jervis's victory and far more sanguinary was that gained by Admiral Duncan on the 11th October, when he triumphed over the Dutch fleet led by Admiral de Winter. This country had not been involved in hostilities with Holland since the maritime wars in which our fleets were commanded by Blake and Monk, and the accession of William of Orange, as well as the identity of our interests, seemed to preclude the chance of a renewal of war. But the Dutch followed the revolutionary lead of France, and expelled the Stadtholder, declaring the Seven United Provinces a republic, which they remained until Napoleon placed his brother, Louis, on the throne of Holland.

All through the summer of 1797, Admiral Duncan blockaded the Dutch fleet in the Texel with 12 sail-of-the-line, with a pertinacity beyond praise. Even in May of this year, when mutiny was general throughout the British fleet, he continued the semblance of a blockade with his flagship, the *Venerable*, 74, and the *Adamant*, 50, commanded by Captain Hotham.

One by one his ships, which had made common

cause with the mutineer Parker in the Thames, rejoined Duncan, who, early in October, retired to Yarmouth to refit and revictual, leaving off the Texel coast a small squadron of observation. De Winter, whose long inactivity had excited the anger of his countrymen, took advantage of the absence of the British fleet to put to sea, information of which was conveyed to Duncan, who instantly set sail with 14 ships-of-the-line, two 50-gun frigates, and three others. Of this number seven carried 74 guns, including his flag-ship, the *Venerable*, and the *Monarch*, which bore the flag of Vice-Admiral Onslow, the others being the *Russell*, *Powerful*, *Bedford*, *Montagu*, and *Triumph*, the last a name associated with Blake's desperate battles with Van Tromp, and the remaining seven carried 64 guns. The Dutch fleet was sighted in the morning of the 11th October, about nine miles off the shore, not far from the village of Camperdown, which gave its name to the battle. Admiral de Winter had under his command 19 ships-of-the-line and frigates, or one more than his adversary, but what superiority there was lay with the British, as only four of De Winter's ships carried 74 guns.

It was beyond the power of the Dutch admiral to avoid an action had he been so inclined, and on finding it inevitable, he hove to, and awaited the approach of his enemy. As soon as his slow sailers

ADMIRAL DUNCAN RECEIVING ADMIRAL DE WINTER'S SWORD AT THE BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN.

After Samuel Drummond.

had come up, Duncan hoisted the signal for his ships to cut through the hostile line, and about noon he replaced it by the welcome order for close action. The first of our ships to engage was the *Monarch*, leading the lee division, which passed through their line between the *Jupiter*, 74, flying the vice-admiral's flag, and the *Haarlem*, 64, and closely engaged the former ship. Directly afterwards the *Powerful*, the next astern of Admiral Duncan's flag-ship, engaged the *Haarlem*, and other ships of the division took part in the action as they arrived up.

Meanwhile, the *Venerable*, which steered for the *Vryheid*, flying De Winter's flag, on passing under the stern of the *States-General*, carrying Admiral Storey's flag, poured into her so destructive a broadside that she was compelled to bear up. Duncan then ranged up on the lee side of the *Vyrheid*, which was engaged to windward by the *Ardent*, 64. But the Dutch ships rallied to the support of their admiral, and soon the *Brutus*, 74, and *Leyden*, 64, attacked the *Venerable* on either hand, while the *Mars*, 44, raked her with terrible effect. More than once was her flag shot away, upon which a seaman, named Jack Crawford,* swarmed up the maintop-

* Sunderland, of which Crawford was a native, paid tardy honours to its gallant townsman. In April, 1890, fifty-nine years after his death, a monument was erected, representing the seaman in the act of nailing the colours to the masthead of the *Venerable*, with a suitable inscription.

gallant-mast and nailed the admiral's flag to the mast-head.

The Dutch 68-gun ship *Hercules* caught fire, and to save her from blowing up, the crew cast the powder into the sea, and soon after she struck her flag. The *Vryheid*, attacked on all sides, found a fresh assailant in the *Triumph*, to which the *Wassenaer* had struck, and at length De Winter, with his own hand, hauled down her colours. The Dutch commander-in-chief had displayed as conspicuous gallantry as the great Van Tromp and his son in their battles with Blake and Spragge, and it is said that he stood alone on his quarter-deck when he surrendered his ship. Not less gallant was the resistance made by Admiral Storey, who resisted the attack of several ships until the *States-General* was driven out of the line of battle and effected her escape, with a loss of 300 killed and wounded.

The Dutch ships-of-the-line captured were the *Vryheid*, *Jupiter*, *Wassenaer*, *Hercules*, *De Vries*, *Gelykheid*, and *Haarlem*, the 56-gun ships *Alkmaar* and *Delft*, and two frigates. The official account placed their loss at 540 killed and 620 wounded, among the latter being three admirals and the captains of the *Vryheid* and *Wassenaer*, who died of their wounds.

The British loss was 203 slain and 622 wounded, though another account placed it at 228 and 812 respectively. The chief sufferers were the *Venerable*,

Powerful, Belliqueux, Bedford, Triumph, and *Ardent.* The last had her captain, Burgess, and 40 officers and men killed, and 107 wounded, and Captain Essington, of the *Triumph,* was among the wounded, her casualties being 84, those of the flag-ship 77, the *Bedford's* 71, the *Monarch's* 136, the *Powerful's* 88, and the losses of the *Belliqueux* 103. A heavy gale succeeded the action, in which the *Delft,* which had 43 killed and 76 wounded, foundered with nearly all on board. The prizes when brought into port were found to have been too much damaged by shot to be serviceable.

Duncan was created a viscount for his victory, and his second-in-command, Admiral Onslow, received a baronetcy, while, as in the victories of Lords Howe and St. Vincent, the first lieutenants of the ships engaged were made commanders. Though there was a slight superiority on the side of the British fleet, which carried 575 guns on a broadside to 517 in the Dutch ships, yet the success achieved was highly honourable to the officers and men engaged, and among England's most treasured victories is that gained by her fleet under Admiral Duncan at Camperdown.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Battle of the Nile—Nelson in the *Vanguard*—Destruction of the *Orient*—The *Bellerophon* and *Majestic*—Loss of the *Leander*—The Battle of Copenhagen—Incidents of the Action.

THE name of Nelson now fills the page of naval history, and until his glorious death his great deeds and remarkable personality overshadowed all his contemporaries. He had attracted the attention of his superiors and his countrymen by his signal gallantry at St. Vincent. Sir John Jervis, now Earl St. Vincent, entertained the highest opinion of Nelson's professional skill, and as soon as the opportunity offered, placed him in a position of independent command, when he exhibited his genius for war by gaining the victory of the Nile, perhaps the most complete, as it certainly is the most remarkable, of any achieved at sea. Lord St. Vincent sent him to cruise off Toulon with a small squadron, and, on being reinforced at Cadiz, despatched 10 sail-of-the-line to his assistance, thus raising his force to 13 74-gun ships.*

* The following were the names of the ships and their captains:

Admiral Brueys sailed from Toulon on the 19th May with an army of 20,000 men, commanded by Buonaparte, who, after receiving the surrender of Malta, landed at Alexandria, and speedily conquered the classic land of Egypt. Brueys managed to elude Nelson, who was cruising in search of the fleet after it effected its escape from Toulon, and on the 22nd June the hostile fleets actually crossed each other's tracks without being aware of the circumstance. Indeed, the British admiral, rightly conjecturing that Egypt was the object of the expedition, steered thither, and reached Alexandria two days before the French fleet, when, finding no signs of them, he returned to Sicily. During the whole of the cruise the ships' crews were exercised every day in gunnery, and thus maintained the skill for which the Mediterranean fleet was famous; and frequently, also, Nelson assembled his captains on board the *Vanguard*, his flag-ship, to explain the various plans he had formed for attacking the enemy in every conceivable position.

Nelson sailed from Syracuse on the 25th July for the coast of Greece, and thence stood for Alexandria,

Vanguard (flag-ship), Berry; *Orion*, Sir James Saumarez; *Culloden*, Troubridge; *Bellerophon*, Darby; *Minotaur*, Louis; *Defence*, Peyton; *Alexander*, Ball; *Zealous*, Hood; *Audacious*, Gould; *Goliath*, Foley; *Majestic*, Westcott; *Swiftsure*, Hallowell; and *Theseus*, Miller. Also the 50-gun frigate, *Leander*, Captain Thompson, and *Mutine*, 16-gun brig, Commander Thomas Masterman Hardy, formerly one of Nelson's officers in the *Minerve*, who was destined to command the *Victory* at Trafalgar.

which he sighted on the morning of the 1st August, when, to his joy, the town was seen to be in the possession of the French. The British fleet stood along the shore, when Captain Hood, in the *Zealous*, made the signal that 17 ships were in sight, anchored in Aboukir Bay, of which all but four were of the line. Nelson resolved to attack at once, and with the intuition of genius determined on his plan of battle. The French ships were moored in line ahead at a distance of about 160 yards from each other, and it occurred to him that where there was room for a ship to swing there was space for one of his to pass between her and the shore, and engage without risk of grounding.

Brueys' fleet consisted of his flag-ship *Orient*, 120 guns, three 80-gun ships, *Franklin*, *Tonnant*, and *Guillaume Tell*, and nine ships of 74 guns, besides four frigates and some smaller vessels. The French position was a very strong one, and besides being defended by bomb-vessels and gun-boats, was further surrounded by shoals, while each of the ships, which extended in a line over a mile and a half in length, was provided with a stream cable laid out so as to enable her to "spring her broadside" to the enemy.

The French admiral, on first sighting the British fleet, determined to get under weigh, but surmising that his enemy would defer the attack till the following morning, he changed his mind. He was soon,

however, undeceived, for Nelson, eager to engage, at 3 P.M. hoisted the signal for action, and an hour later, one to prepare to anchor by the stern. Each captain, accordingly, passed a cable out of one of his gun-room ports, and passing it along outside the ship, bent it to an anchor at the bow, so that when the latter was let go and the other cable was eased out, the ship brought up by the stern. Nelson followed the last signal by one expressing his intention to attack the enemy's van and centre, by bringing the fire of his 13 seventy-fours and the *Leander* on their first seven ships as far as the *Orient*, leaving the remainder to be dealt with later on.

The British fleet stood towards the enemy in the following order, the *Zealous*, Captain Samuel Hood, being the leading ship: *Zealous*, *Goliath*, *Orion*, *Audacious*, *Theseus*, *Vanguard*, *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Bellerophon*, *Majestic*, and *Leander*; the *Culloden*, *Alexandria*, and *Swiftsure* being some distance to the rear, but coming up under a press of sail. With their ensigns and Union-jacks displayed, they bore down on the enemy, and about 6.20 the action was begun by the *Conquerant* and *Guerrier*, the foremost vessels, opening fire on the advancing ships.

At this time the *Goliath*, Captain Foley, headed our fleet, and a few minutes later, just as the sun was sinking below the horizon, she crossed the head of the French line, and pouring a raking broadside into

the *Guerrier*, steered for the port (or inner) bow of that ship, but having run out too great a scope of cable the anchor failed to bring her up alongside, and she lay within musket-shot of the *Conquerant*, with which she became hotly engaged. In a few minutes, Captain Hood dropped his anchor on the port bow of the *Guerrier*, the ship Captain Foley intended to engage, and so well directed was his fire that he soon shot away the fore-mast of the seventy-four, an auspicious prelude to the great victory about to be achieved, which was greeted with cheers from the British fleet.

Following the *Zealous* came the *Orion*, which, rounding her stern, was making a sweep outside the French line when the *Sérieuse* frigate had the temerity to fire on her. Sir James Saumarez, Nelson's second-in-command, and one of the finest officers in the service, who lived to earn a peerage—was in command of the *Orion*, as he had been at the battle of St. Vincent, and he quickly silenced and dismasted his hardy antagonist, which was driven on a shoal, when she became a wreck. The *Orion* then brought up a little abaft the beam of the *Peuple Souverain*, which she engaged. The *Audacious* steered for the opening between the *Guerrier* and *Conquerant*, and brought up within 50 yards of the latter's port bow, while the *Theseus*, crossing the bows of the *Guerrier*, ran down along the line between the *Goliath* and *Zealous* and the ships with which they were engaged,

and anchored about 300 yards on the beam of the *Spartiate.*

Now came Nelson in the *Vanguard,* which, instead of following the last ship and bringing-to inside the French line, edged away towards their outer side, in execution of the admiral's plan to place the van ships between two fires, thus completing their destruction before attacking the rear division. The *Vanguard* anchored within 80 yards of the *Spartiate's* starboard beam, and before the *Minotaur* had brought-to opposite the *Aquilon,* and the *Defence* alongside the *Peuple Souverain,* she was engaged on the inner side of the *Orion.* A few minutes later the *Bellerophon* attacked the great three-decker *Orient,* flying Admiral Brueys' flag, and the *Majestic* brought up abreast of the *Tonnant,* of 80 guns, flag-ship of Admiral Villeneuve, whose broadside weight of metal was equal to that of a British 98-gun ship.

There are still four of our ships unaccounted for. Unhappily the *Culloden,* commanded by the gallant Troubridge, while bearing down to the scene of conflict, grounded on a reef, off the island of Aboukir, where she remained immoveable, notwithstanding the continuous exertions of the officers and crew, till two o'clock on the following morning, when the action was over. The only consolation Captain Troubridge had for his cruel misfortune was that his ship acted as a warning to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure,* which

were coming up astern. Following the account of the battle given by Allen and James, we will now briefly give the part taken by each individual ship.

The *Guerrier* struck her flag to the *Zealous*, having been raked by three ships in succession, but not until she was dismasted, and the hull was reduced to the condition of a wreck, and 400 of her crew were either killed or wounded. This occurred about nine o'clock, but shortly before this the *Conquérant*, which had also been raked by passing ships and closely engaged by the *Goliath* and *Audacious*, struck her flag, her state being almost as bad as the *Guerrier*. Her chief adversary, the *Goliath*, did not escape with impunity, her killed being 21, and wounded 40.

About the same time the *Spartiate*, which had been exposed to the fire of the *Theseus* and *Vanguard*, under which all her masts had fallen, surrendered. The *Vanguard* had also suffered severely, having encountered a raking fire from the *Aquilon* as well. Her loss was 30 killed and 76 wounded, among the latter being Nelson, who was struck in the forehead by a piece of langridge shot. As the torn flesh fell over his remaining eye the admiral thought he was mortally wounded, but when on being carried to the cockpit it was found that the wound was of no great consequence, he came up on deck with a bandage round his head.

During his absence the *Spartiate* struck to the

Vanguard, and less than half an hour later the *Aquilon*, which had been raking her, struck to the *Minotaur*, which had engaged her closely, assisted by the occasional fire of the *Theseus*. The *Aquilon*, when she surrendered, was dismasted, like her three consorts ahead of her, and had sustained as heavy a loss as they in killed and wounded, among the former being her captain. The *Minotaur*, commanded by Captain Louis, who afterwards gained a baronetcy for his services in the action off San Domingo, lost 23 killed and 64 wounded. The *Peuple Souverain*, which had been engaged by the *Defence* and received the raking fire of the *Orion*, lost her fore and main-masts, and her cable having been shot away, she drifted until she brought-up about 400 yards from the flag-ship. Equally heavy were her casualties with those of the other French ships, among the slain being her commander.

In the very height of the conflict a terrible explosion took place, which involved the loss of a noble three-decker, and nearly a thousand lives. The *Orient* had disabled the *Bellerophon*, whose place was taken by the *Swiftsure*, one of the ships astern, which fired on her starboard bow, while the *Alexander*, the other one, anchored so as to command her port-quarter. Early in the action Admiral Brueys had been wounded twice, and as he was descending from the poop to the quarter-deck, a

round-shot inflicted a terrible wound, from which he expired where he fell, as he refused to be carried below. His flag-captain, Casabianca, was also severely wounded, but was reserved for a fate not less terrible than that which befell the admiral. The *Orient* caught fire, and the flames, spreading with fearful rapidity, quickly enveloped the sails. In vain were all the efforts of officers and crew to extinguish the conflagration, and Nelson, who was below at the time, under the hands of the surgeon, hastened on deck and ordered the boats to be despatched to the assistance of the unfortunate seamen for whom an awful fate was impending, as beneath their feet was the powder magazine, while above and around the ship was glowing like a molten furnace, rendering approach quite impossible. About 70 in all of her crew were picked up by boats, including Rear-Admiral Ganteaume, and about ten o'clock the catastrophe all were awaiting with spell-bound expectancy took place, and the *Orient* blew up with a terrific explosion. It is recorded that the pitchy seams of the ships around her were opened by the concussion, and the scene, which is described as superlatively grand, formed a climax to that presented by the vivid flashes of the guns of the contending fleets.

For some minutes after the explosion a silence fell on the combatants, as the seamen, awe-struck, ceased

firing, and then could be heard the splashing of the falling spars and timbers of the doomed three-decker. Among our ships exposed to danger and some injury were the *Alexander*, *Swiftsure*, and *Orion*, but the *Franklin*, which lay within 400 yards of the flag-ship, was set on fire, and her decks were covered with a shower of burning *débris*. This ship, which had long sustained the raking fire of the *Leander*, and was engaged with the *Defence*, was the first to commence hostilities, but she brought down on herself the fire of the *Swiftsure* and *Orion*, and about two in the morning was compelled to strike. In making her most gallant and protracted resistance, she lost more than one-half of her crew, many of her guns were disabled, and her main and mizen-masts were lying alongside, having been shot away. This 80-gun ship, when purchased into the Navy, was renamed the *Canopus*, after the classic name of the Nile, and did good service under our flag. Moreover, she was considered such a fine specimen of naval architecture that many of our later ships-of-the-line were constructed on her model, and it is an interesting fact that the *Franklin* of Nelson's great victory was actually in existence at Devonport as a block-ship so late as the year 1891.

The greatest sufferers in the battle of the Nile among our ships were the *Bellerophon* and *Majestic*, which were pitted respectively against the *Orient*

and *Tonnant*, the two largest of the enemy's ships. Before eight, when she had been engaged little more than half an hour with the former, the mizen-mast of the *Bellerophon* went over the side, and it was quickly followed by the main-mast. Captain Darby continued the action until his ship was almost disabled, when he cut his cable, and was about to set his fore-sail and foretop-sail, when the fore-mast also went by the board, and the *Bellerophon* drifted helplessly along, receiving a broadside from the *Tonnant* as she passed her. She was also nearly sunk by the *Swiftsure*, which was then coming into action. Owing to her masts being shot away, the British two-decker could not hoist the four lights horizontally, which Nelson had directed his ships to display after dark. Captain Hallowell, of the *Swiftsure*, was about to pour a broadside into her when he bethought him of taking the precaution to hail the drifting wreck. The answer he received showed her nationality, and saved him from inflicting a terrible fate on his own countrymen who had suffered so severely in the unequal conflict from which they had just emerged. The *Swiftsure* thereupon clewed up her sails, and took up a position on the starboard bow of the *Orient*, not far from that just vacated by the *Bellerophon*. A few minutes later the *Alexander* stationed herself on the port-quarter of the three-decker, which she engaged until the occurrence of the

catastrophe we have described. The *Bellerophon* lost in the action 49 killed, and 148 wounded, among the latter being Captain Darby.

The *Majestic* suffered to an equal degree in her conflict with the *Tonnant*. Soon after the action began, Captain Westcott was killed by a musket-ball, when the command devolved on Lieutenant Cuthbert, the senior executive officer, who fought the ship with stubborn gallantry. Finding she was drifting athwart the *Heureux*, 74, her acting commander slipped his stern cable and brought up by the bows, but continued his fire until three on the following morning, when his main and mizen-masts had been shot away. The *Tonnant*, which was the last ship of the enemy to cease firing, about the same time lost all her masts, the wreckage from which masked her guns. Veering her cable she got beyond the range of the *Majestic's* fire, and also could no longer engage the *Swiftsure*, which had suffered much from her batteries without being able to make an effective response. Soon afterwards the *Tonnant* ceased firing. During the action the captain of the *Tonnant*, like his British opponent, was killed, but his dying injunction to defend his ship to the last was religiously obeyed until daylight, when the approach of the *Theseus* and *Leander* rendered further resistance impossible. The *Majestic* lost, in her encounter with an enemy of superior force, no

less than 50 officers and men killed, and 143 wounded.

At daybreak the French seventy-fours, *Heureux* and *Mercure*, withdrew from the line, and grounded to the southward of the Bay of Aboukir, when they were surrounded by four British ships, and struck their colours. Soon after, the *Timoléon*, 74, ran on shore, and being set on fire by her crew, who escaped, she blew up. The *Guillaume Tell*, 80, *Généreux*, 74, and the frigates *Justice* and *Diane* escaped. Of 18 sail, comprising the proud fleet which lay in an apparently impregnable position, by noon of the following day, nine ships-of-the-line had been captured, and two destroyed, and two frigates had been sunk. The batteries on the island of Aboukir were also taken, and thus the defeat was as complete as anything recorded in naval history.

As for the line-of-battle ships and frigates that escaped, they only deferred the day of capture. The *Généreux* overtook the *Leander*, 50-gun frigate, which Nelson had sent to England with his despatches, in charge of Captain Berry, his flag-captain, and though there was no prospect of successful resistance to so superior a force, her commander, Captain Thompson, engaged the seventy-four, until his ship was almost unrigged, and had lost one-third of her crew of 282 men and boys, among the wounded being both Captains Thompson and Berry. The *Généreux*,

which had on board a portion of the crew of the *Timoléon*, had lost even more heavily, and out of 936 men, about 100 were killed, and 180 wounded, a number equal to the entire complement of the British frigate. However, within seven months, on the 18th February, 1799, Nelson, when cruising off Malta, in the *Foudroyant*, with Sir Edward Berry in command, accompanied by the *Alexander* and *Success*, frigate, fell in with the *Généreux*, and three smaller ships-of-war, escorting some transports, bound for that island, which was still in the possession of the French. The seventy-four, which had 2,000 soldiers on board, was captured, and Admiral Perrée was killed. On the 30th of the following month, the *Guillaume Tell* surrendered to a British squadron, after making a most gallant resistance, in which she lost 200 killed and wounded. When Malta capitulated, after this event, the frigates *Diane* and *Justice* fell into the hands of the victors, and thus the entire French fleet which fought at the Nile was accounted for.

In that great battle the British loss was 218 killed, and 678 wounded, out of 7,400 seamen and marines engaged. That of the French fleet was variously stated, but it must have been very considerable, and the *Orient* alone lost about 830 men out of her complement of 900. Naval opinion is agreed that the victory of the Nile is the greatest

and most signal on record. Whether we take into consideration the completeness of the success, or the determination and professional skill displayed by Lord Nelson, it will ever be so regarded. Of the captured ships, five were totally dismasted, and others had lost two masts, while all were much damaged in their hulls. Six of the prizes sailed for England, under an escort commanded by Sir James Saumarez, but one, the *Peuple Souverain*, remained at Gibraltar, and was converted into a guard-ship. The five others arrived safely at Portsmouth, but only the *Spartiate*, *Tonnant*, and *Franklin* were fit to go to sea. The two former were engaged at Trafalgar, and the *Franklin*, as the *Canopus*, took part in Sir John Duckworth's victory off San Domingo in 1806, as flag-ship of his second-in-command, Sir Thomas Louis, who commanded the *Minotaur* at the Nile.

Sir Horatio Nelson was raised to the peerage as Baron Nelson, of the Nile and of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, and received a pension of £2,000 a year for himself, and his two next heirs. The East India Company presented him with a grant of £10,000, and he received orders and presents from the Czar, the Sultan, and the Kings of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies.

Nelson's next great victory, that at Copenhagen, was achieved over difficulties that would have been considered insurmountable by any other admiral in existence. Probably Blake, and, possibly, Lord

Cochrane, then a post-captain, are the only two officers who would have attempted the enterprise with the means at his disposal.

Sir Hyde Parker sailed from England in March, 1801, to coerce Denmark, which had entered into a coalition with Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, to limit the right of search over neutral vessels, claimed by this country, and Lord Nelson accompanied him as second-in-command. On arriving about 15 miles from Copenhagen, the admirals proceeded to reconnoitre the defences, at the conclusion of which Nelson offered to conduct an attack on the Danish fleet and fortifications, with 10 sail-of-the-line, and all the frigates and bomb-vessels. Sir Hyde Parker accepted the proposal, and as the three-deckers, among which was Nelson's flag-ship, *St. George*, of 98 guns, were of too great draught to approach the capital, he placed at his disposal seven seventy-fours, three sixty-fours, two ships of 50 guns, besides six frigates, seven bomb-vessels, and some smaller craft.*

During the nights of the 30th and 31st March,

* The following were Nelson's ships. Seventy-fours: *Elephant*, Captain Foley; *Defiance*, Captain Retalick, with Admiral Graves's flag; *Edgar*, Captain Murray; *Monarch*, Captain Mosse; *Bellona*, Captain Thompson; *Ganges*, Captain Fremantle; *Russell*, Captain Cumming. Sixty-fours: *Agamemnon*, Captain Fancourt; *Ardent*, Captain Bertie; *Polyphemus*, Captain Lawford. 50-gun ships: *Glatton*, Captain Bligh; and *Isis*, Captain Walker. Frigates: *Amazon*, 38, Captain Riou; *Desirée*, 36, Captain Inman; *Blanche*, 36, Captain Hammond; *Alcmene*, 32, Captain Sutton; *Dart*, 30, Captain Devonshire; and *Jamaica*, 24, Captain Rose.

Nelson, in company with some officers in a boat, surveyed the channel; and on the 1st April the whole fleet approached within six miles of Copenhagen. During the forenoon of that day his lordship, embarked in the *Amazon*, frigate, again examined the Danish works; and at one P.M.—on his return to the *Elephant*, Captain Foley, (who had commanded the *Goliath* at the Nile,) into which he had shifted his flag, taking with him as a volunteer, Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy, of the *St. George*,—he hoisted the signal for the attacking ships to get under weigh. Preceded by the *Amazon*, commanded by Captain Riou, an officer in whom Nelson had unbounded confidence, the squadron, 36 sail in all, passed along the edge of the great shoal, called the Middle Ground, and about eight P.M. anchored at its southern extremity.

That night Captain Hardy made a final examination of the channel, in which lay the Danish fleet, consisting of 18 two-deckers, floating batteries and smaller vessels, carrying 628 guns, mostly of large calibre, and 4,850 men. These ships were moored in a line over 2,000 yards in length, flanked at the north end by the Crown batteries, mounting 68, 24, and 36-pounders, which again were commanded by two heavy block-ships. The entrance to the inner harbour was protected by a chain and two 74-gun ships, and some smaller vessels, as well as by the fire

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of the Crown batteries; while on the island of Amak, to the south and west, were more batteries and gun-boats.

At length all preparations were made, and at 9.30 on the morning of the 2nd April, the captains having previously received their final instructions from the admiral, the signal to weigh was displayed at the masthead of the *Elephant*. Led on by the *Edgar*, a ship which well sustained the renown of its predecessors from the time of Elizabeth, the ships proceeded to take up their assigned stations. The commencement of the operations was marked by some mishaps. The *Agamemnon*, which followed the leading ship, failed to weather the tail of the shoal, and was obliged to anchor. The *Polyphemus* and *Isis* followed the *Edgar*, without accident, but the *Bellona*, commanded by Captain Sir Thomas Thompson, the officer who so gallantly defended the *Leander* against the *Généreux*, grounded about 450 yards from the rear of the Danish line. The *Russell*, which followed, also took the ground, on perceiving which Nelson, in opposition to the opinions of the pilot, "starboarded" his helm, and, followed by the other ships in succession, passed in safety along their port beam to his position.

At ten o'clock the cannonade commenced, but it was not until an hour and a half later that "the lofty British line," as Campbell calls Nelson's squadron

in his noble lyric, had taken up their posts, a distance of 100 yards intervening between each ship. At that hour the following ships were engaged with the enemy :—*Edgar*, *Polyphemus*, *Isis*, *Elephant*, *Ardent*, *Monarch*, *Glatton*, *Ganges*, and *Defiance*. The tide prevented the gun-boats from getting into action, and the bomb-vessels did little, but still more severely felt was the loss of the three ships-of-the-line, *Bellona*, *Russell*, and *Agamemnon*, as it cast a heavier burden on those which took part in the engagement. Captain Riou, of the *Amazon*, who commanded the frigate squadron, tried to remedy the deficiency caused by their absence, and gallantly attacked the Crown batteries, but the fire of the heavy guns they mounted was too much for his ships, and eventually Riou had to withdraw the frigates, but in the act of doing so was cut in two by a round-shot. Thus fell the officer whom Nelson described in his despatches as "the good and gallant Riou."

For three hours the cannonade continued without intermission, but apparently without making much impression on the Danish defences. Sir Hyde Parker, on observing that Nelson's force was materially weakened by the loss of the three grounded ships, detached the seventy-fours *Ramillies* and *Defence*, and the *Veteran*, 64, to his aid, but owing to the light breeze these ships could render no assistance. The commander-in-chief accordingly hoisted the signal

to discontinue the action, more, as he afterwards explained, as an authorisation to Nelson to withdraw should he find himself overpowered. But his lordship became exceedingly irate at receiving such instructions, and very characteristic of the great seaman was the scene that ensued, as told by Southey, his biographer: "Lord Nelson now paced the deck, moving the stump of his right arm in a manner which always indicated great emotion. 'Do you know,' said he to Mr. Fergusson, 'what is shown on board the commander-in-chief?' 'No. 39.' 'What does that mean?' 'To leave off action.' Shrugging up his shoulders, he repeated the words, 'Leave off action! Now, d—— me if I do. You know, Foley,' turning to the captain, 'I have only one eye, and I have a right to be blind sometimes;' and putting his glass to his blind eye, in that mood which sports with bitterness, he exclaimed, 'I really do not see the signal!' Presently he exclaimed, 'Keep my signal for close action flying! That is the way I answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast.'"

Nelson's pertinacity was rewarded with the success that is usually attained by the brave, and by 1.30 the Danish fire began to slacken, and half an hour later it ceased from most of the ships, which, however, fired on the boats that were sent to take possession of them, a proceeding which angered Lord Nelson, who spoke of sending in his fire-ships to

destroy them, but with great humanity, resolved to try negotiations first. His lordship accordingly wrote to the Crown Prince of Denmark the following letter: "Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark, when no longer resisting. The line of defences which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies of England."

It is related that a wafer was handed to Nelson with which to close the missive, but with characteristic coolness and forethought he exclaimed, "This is not the time to be hurried or informal," and sent to his cabin for a candle and sealing-wax. The messenger was killed on the way, when a second was sent, and on the document being properly sealed, it was taken ashore under a flag of truce. Meantime the three ships sent by Sir Hyde Parker were approaching, and the *Dannebrog*, of 62 guns, caught fire, and soon after blew up. Still the Crown batteries, to which 1,500 fresh men had been sent from the shore, continued the fire. Soon a reply came from the Crown Prince, inquiring the object of Nelson's note, to which his lordship replied that he was inspired by feelings of humanity, and would consent to stay hostilities while

the wounded were being landed. He added that he would burn or carry off his prizes, and concluded by expressing a hope for the cessation of hostilities. While his messenger returned to the Crown Prince, Nelson ordered those of his ships that were crippled to withdraw from their positions, and he himself proceeded with the Danish Adjutant-General to the *London*, Sir Hyde Parker's flag-ship, where the negotiations were concluded on the terms demanded by the victorious admiral. A victory it was, as 13 out of 18 ships and floating batteries, forming the main line of defence, were taken or burnt, but all, except the *Holstein*, were found unserviceable and were destroyed.

The British loss, in achieving this remarkable success, was 255 killed and 688 wounded, but including those slightly wounded, who were not included in the returns, the total casualties were 1,200. The ships that suffered the most were the *Monarch*, which had her captain, Mosse, and 55 men killed, and 162 officers and men wounded; the *Isis*, with 33 and 88 respectively; the *Edgar*, with 32 and 111; while the losses of the *Ardent*, *Bellona*, and *Amazon* were scarcely less. The Danes placed their casualties at between 1,600 and 1,800, but this was considered much too low an estimate by the victors.

The outcome of this great achievement was far-

reaching, and not only was the Danish Court brought to terms, but the sovereigns of Sweden and St. Petersburg agreed to a convention by which the embargo on British shipping was removed and amicable relations were restored. Lord Nelson, who had assumed command of the fleet on the recall of Sir Hyde Parker, early in May, brought about these great results by his energy and decision. On the 19th June he sailed for England, where he was received with acclamations by all classes and was created a viscount by his sovereign.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Battle of Trafalgar—Services of the Ships engaged, including *Royal Sovereign, Belleisle, Tonnant, Bellerophon, Colossus, Victory, Téméraire, Neptune, Leviathan* and *Orion*—The Death of Nelson—Conclusion.

We now come to the last great victory achieved by the British Navy. It is true that after the 21st October, 1805, the day of Trafalgar, our fleet gained some remarkable successes, and they have since acquired glory in many engagements in every clime under heaven, but Trafalgar may be classed as the last important general action in which they encountered a worthy enemy.

Before the close of the struggle with Napoleon, a squadron, under Sir James Saumarez, the commander of the *Orion* at the Nile, defeated a French and Spanish squadron near Gibraltar, and after Trafalgar, Sir Richard Strachan captured the division of four ships, under Admiral Dumanoir, which escaped the annihilation that overtook Villeneuve on that great day. There were many other actions deserving special mention so far as the signal gallantry dis-

played by our seamen is concerned, and notable among these were Commodore Hoste's victory at Lissa over a superior Franco-Venetian squadron, and Duckworth's at San Domingo, when he captured and destroyed four sail-of-the-line. But these cannot be regarded as general actions, and therefore we will do no more than allude to them.*

On the 22nd July, 1805, only three months before Nelson's last great victory and his glorious death, Sir Robert Calder, who was Sir John Jervis's flag-captain on board the *Victory* at the battle off Cape St. Vincent, on the 14th February, 1797, engaged a superior French and Spanish fleet, under Admiral Villeneuve, near Cape Finisterre, but though he gained a decided success and captured two ships-of-the-line, he was severely reprimanded by sentence of a court-martial in the following December. This hard measure was doubtless due to the contrast presented by his conduct in shunning a renewal of the engagement, as the enemy were in superior force, to the heroism displayed by Nelson in the following October, with which England and the

* In James's great "Naval History of the Revolutionary War" will be found a full account of these minor engagements and every frigate action throughout the years embraced between 1793 and 1815, and the author of this little work has given a fairly complete, though briefer, record of these and similar events both before and since the period named, in his illustrated work, "Her Majesty's Navy" (3 vols., Virtue & Co.).

world was then ringing. But there was only one Nelson, and it was scarcely just to pass a severe sentence on an officer who, when in command of 15 sail, actually engaged 20, and who, had he lived before the Nelson epoch, would have been applauded for taking two of the enemy's ships.

After his action with Calder, Villeneuve proceeded to Ferrol, where he effected a junction with a squadron lying there, thus increasing his fleet to 29 sail-of-the-line. Meanwhile, the British commander despatched Rear-Admiral Stirling, in the *Glory*, with five sail, to resume the blockade of Rochefort, and with the remainder of his fleet joined Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant. Villeneuve contemplated joining Allemand, at Rochefort, with the object of proceeding with the united fleet to Brest, where they would effect a junction with the ships lying there, and thus obtain a preponderance at sea. But he was deceived as to the strength of Admiral Cornwallis off that port, which he placed at 25 sail, and changing his plans, steered for Cadiz, which he entered on the 21st August.

Vice-Admiral Collingwood, who was cruising off Cape St. Vincent, on seeing the allied fleet enter the Spanish port, despatched Captain Blackwood, in the *Euryalus*, 38-gun frigate, to England, with the important news. At this time Lord Nelson—after some years of uninterrupted service afloat, during two of

which he had not even once put his foot on shore—had resigned his command of the Mediterranean fleet and returned to England to recruit his health.

In January of this year (1805), Nelson was watching the Toulon fleet, but while he was absent watering his ships, Villeneuve escaped to sea, though he returned again after a cruise in the Mediterranean. Again, on the 30th March, the French admiral eluded the vigilance of a blockading fleet, and, effecting a junction with six ships under Gravina, at Carthagena, he sailed for the West Indies with 18 sail. Nelson, on learning of the destination of the combined fleet, started in pursuit with only 10 ships, and so confident was he of their superior efficiency that he expressed his determination to attack the enemy should he encounter them. But all his endeavours to do so were in vain. As before the battle of the Nile he had ineffectually chased Admiral Brueys' fleet throughout the Mediterranean until he hunted it down in Aboukir Bay, so now his pursuit of Villeneuve to the West Indies was equally barren of results, and the disappointed admiral, on his return to Europe, left the main body of his fleet with Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, and sailed for Portsmouth with the *Victory* and *Superb*.

Nelson had been only three weeks ashore, enjoying his well-earned and much-needed rest, when at four

o'clock in the morning of the 2nd September, Captain Blackwood, who had left the *Euryalus* at Spithead, and was posting up to London with despatches from Lord Collingwood, arrived at the great admiral's unpretentious residence at Merton with news of the concentration of the allied fleet at Cadiz. Lord Nelson immediately proceeded to London, and proposed to Mr. Pitt, then Prime Minister, to assume command of the fleet off Cadiz. His offer was eagerly accepted, and he embarked at Portsmouth on the 14th September, on board the *Victory*, commanded by Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy. This officer had served with him in the *Minerve*, when he captured the Spanish frigate *Sabina*, had commanded the 16-gun brig, *Mutine*, at the Nile, and afterwards succeeded Berry in the command of the *Vanguard*, and was his flag-captain in the *St. George*, 98, and accompanied him in the *Elephant* at Copenhagen. It is recorded that as Nelson stepped into the barge to embark in the *Victory*, people of all ages and both sexes crowded round England's favourite admiral to kiss his hand, or even the skirts of his coat. Greatly touched, he turned to Hardy with the observation, "I knew I had their cheers before, but now I have their hearts."

Nelson sailed from Portsmouth on Sunday, the 15th September, in company with the *Euryalus*, and, picking up a few ships off Plymouth, on the

28th joined Collingwood, when he assumed command of the fleet, which now numbered 27 line-of-battle-ships.* The admiral was hailed with acclamation by all ranks, and every one felt that no endeavour would be spared to bring on a general action.

On Saturday, the 19th October, the combined French and Spanish fleet, under Admirals Villeneuve and Gravina, consisting of 33 line-of-battle-ships, weighed anchor and put to sea, with the determination of engaging the British, and so confident was the former of success that he wrote to the French Minister of Marine that "the Emperor should soon be satisfied, and might confidently reckon on a great success."

At daylight of the ever-memorable 21st October, the fleets were in sight of each other, Cape Trafalgar, which gave its name to the battle, being about seven leagues distant.

* The following were the ships and their commanders, in the order in which they stood in the line of battle:—Weather division: *Victory*, 104, Hardy, with Lord Nelson's flag; *Téméraire*, 98, Harvey; *Neptune*, 98, Fremantle; *Leviathan*, 74, Bayntun; *Conqueror*, 74, Pellew; *Britannia*, 100, Bullen, with Lord Northesk's flag; *Agamemnon*, 64, Berry; *Africa*, 64, Digby; *Ajax*, 74, Pilford (acting); *Orion*, 74, Codrington; *Minotaur*, 74, Mansfield; *Spartiate*, 74, Laforey. Lee division: *Royal Sovereign*, 100, Rotherham, with Vice-Admiral Collingwood's flag; *Belleisle*, 74, Hargood; *Mars*, 74, Duff; *Tonnant*, 80, Tyler; *Bellerophon*, 74, Cooke; *Colossus*, 74, Morris; *Achille*, 74, King; *Dreadnought*, 98, Conn; *Polyphemus*, 64, Redmill; *Revenge*, 74, Moorsom; *Swiftsure*, 74, Rutherford; *Defiance*, 74, Durham; *Thunderer*, 74, Stockham (acting); *Defence*, 74, Hope; *Prince*, 74, Grindall.

Nelson's instructions to his captains, as before the Nile, were definite and complete, and his plan of attack may be regarded as a masterpiece of naval tactics. In it he laid down the celebrated axiom which our officers have ever acted on since the time of Blake: "In case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, no captain can do very wrong if he places his ship alongside that of the enemy."

It was a noble sight to watch the old *Victory*, which had borne to battle a succession of England's admirals, from Keppel to Jervis, again and for the last time lead into action, bearing aloft the flag of the greatest of them all. Nelson had been pacing the poop with Captain Blackwood, and had signalled his intention to Admiral Collingwood "to pass through the van of the enemy's line to prevent him from getting into Cadiz," when, at 11.40, he remarked that one signal was yet wanting. The captain of the *Euryalus* replied that the fleet thoroughly knew what was required of them, when Nelson, turning to Mr. Pasco, the signal lieutenant, directed him to hoist the memorable signal, which the British navy has ever since appropriated as its watchword: "England expects that every man will do his duty." As the flags fluttered up to the masthead, they were spelt out by the expectant fleet, and their purport communicated to the seamen assembled at their quarters, who received the message with rounds of

cheers from every ship. "Now," said Nelson, "I can do no more. We must trust to the Great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty." As Blackwood left him to rejoin his ship, he shook him by the hand and said, "God bless you, Blackwood ; I shall never speak to you again."

The British fleet bore down upon the long irregular French line,* in two divisions, led respectively by the *Victory* and *Royal Sovereign*, flying the flags of Nelson and Collingwood, which were about two miles apart.

It was ten minutes past noon that Collingwood, passing close under the stern of the *Santa Anna*, poured his first broadside, every gun of which was double-shotted, into the three-decker's stern, and then, keeping a close luff, took up his station on the Spaniard's starboard bow. An anecdote is told that

* The following were the ships of the allied fleet :—

French. — *Bucentaure*, 80, Vice-Admiral Villeneuve ; *Formidable*, 80, Rear-Admiral Dumanoir ; *Neptune*, 80 ; *Indomptable*, 80 ; *Algeciras*, 74, Rear-Admiral Magon ; and the following seventy-fours : *Pluton*, *Mont Blanc*, *Intrépide*, *Swiftsure*, *Aigle*, *Scipion*, *Duguay-Trouin*, *Berwick*, *Argonaute*, *Achille*, *Redoutable*, *Fougueux*, *Heros* ; Frigates : *Corneille*, *Hermione*, *Rhin*, and *Thémis*.

Spanish. — *Santissima Trinidada*, 130, Rear-Admiral Cisneros ; *Principe de Asturias*, 112, Admiral Gravina ; *Santa Anna*, 112, Vice-Admiral Alava ; *Rayo*, 100 ; *Argonauta*, 80 ; and the following seventy-fours : *Neptuno*, *Bahama*, *Montanez*, *San Augustin*, *San Ildefonso*, *San Juan Nepomucino*, *Monarca*, *San Francisco de Asis*, *San Justo*, and *San Leandro*.

Nelson, when he marked the seamanlike way in which the *Royal Sovereign* manœuvred, exclaimed, "See how that noble fellow, Collingwood, carries his ship into action." As showing how much these great spirits were in sympathy, at the same moment the latter said to his flag-captain, "Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here?"

Lying close alongside, with muzzles almost touching, the three-deckers closely engaged, and for some time the British flag-ship had to sustain the raking fire, ahead and astern, of the *San Leandro* and *Fougueux*, as well as of the *San Justo* and *Indomptable*. For a quarter of an hour she was alone engaged of the British line, but on the approach of the *Belleisle*, and other ships, she was left to contend singly with the *Santa Anna*, which by 1.20 had all three of her masts shot away, and at two o'clock struck her colours. During the action the *Royal Sovereign* lost her mizen-mast, which was afterwards followed by the main-mast, while the fore-mast was left in a tottering state. Her loss was five officers and 42 seamen and marines killed, and nine officers and 85 wounded; that of the *Santa Anna*, which included Admiral Alava, dangerously wounded, being much greater.

The *Belleisle*, after delivering a broadside in passing at the *Santa Anna*, and distantly engaging some other ships, ranged up alongside of the *Fou-*

gueux. The *Belleisle* first lost her maintop-mast, and then had her mizen-mast shot away, when the *Fougueux* dropped astern, and the *Achille* took up a station on her port quarter, where the wreckage masked the fire of her guns, while the *Aigle* fired into her on the starboard side, and two other ships opened a distant cannonade. Captain Hargood returned the fire of his opponents, who were reinforced by the French 80-gun ship, *Neptune*,* which stationed herself on her starboard bow. At two o'clock the main-mast followed the mizen-mast over the side, and three-quarters of an hour later the fore-mast and bowsprit were shot away, and the *Belleisle* lay a sheer hulk on the water, unable to work her guns, but resolute as ever to sink rather than strike. This determination the crew expressed by lashing an ensign to a topsail-yard, as it projected over the quarter, and that there might be no doubt, a Union-jack was displayed on a boarding-pike, which was secured to the stump of the mizen-mast. At length the *Polyphemus* passed between the *Belleisle* and the *Neptune*, the *Defiance* diverted the fire of the *Aigle*, and the *Swiftsure*, passing under her stern, engaged the *Achille*, her men giving the hard-pressed but heroic crew three cheers, to which a hearty

* It should be noted, to obviate confusion, that there were engaged at Trafalgar three *Neptunes*, two *Swiftsures*, and a French and English *Achille*.

response was given from the *Belleisle*, which had lost 3 officers and 33 seamen killed, and 6 officers and 86 wounded.

The *Mars*, the next in the line, when bearing down to the attack, suffered severely from the fire of four ships, and was closely engaged by the *Pluton*, while at the same time she was raked by the *Monarca* and *Algeciras*. Soon the *Tonnant* came to her assistance, but the *Mars*, which became unmanageable, and fell off before the wind, received the fire of the *Pluton* and *Fougueux*. It was at this time that the gallant Captain Duff, one of the best officers of the British Navy, who had commanded the inshore squadron, was struck by a round shot, which carried off his head and killed two seamen by his side. Soon after some ships arrived to her assistance, and her two opponents made sail. In the action the loss of the *Mars* was 29 killed, including four officers, and 69 in all wounded. One of her antagonists, the *Pluton*, on the other hand, had no less than 300 *hors de combat*.

The *Tonnant* closely engaged the *Monarca*, which struck her colours, but dropping astern rehoisted them. The *Tonnant* then ran on board the *Algeciras*, while with her port guns she fired at the *Pluton* and *San Juan*. A fierce conflict raged between the combatants, in which Captain Tyler was severely wounded, and compelled to resign the com-

mand to Lieutenant Bedford. The *Tonnant* lost her main and mizen-topmasts, and the *Algeciras* her fore-mast, when her crew made an attempt to board, but were driven back. At 2.20, soon after her main and mizen-masts went over the side, the *Algeciras* surrendered, and was taken possession of by a prize crew from the *Tonnant*. Less than half an hour later the *San Juan* hailed to say that she had struck, but as an attempt to take possession failed, owing to the *Tonnant's* only boat that could float being sunk by a shot, she was not secured till the *Dreadnought* despatched a prize crew to her. The *Tonnant* had 26 killed and 50 wounded, including four officers; and the *Algeciras* lost upwards of 200 of all ranks, among those mortally wounded being Admiral Magon.

The *Bellerophon* got into action a few minutes after the *Tonnant*, and crossing under the stern of the *Monarca*, which had rehoisted her colours, engaged her on the port bow and the *Aigle* on the starboard, while the *Montanez*, *Swiftsure*, and *Bahama* brought their batteries to bear upon her. The British seventy-four soon displayed the effects of this concentrated fire, and her main and mizen-topmasts were shot away. But a greater loss she sustained in the death of Captain Cooke, a fine specimen of a British seaman, when Lieutenant Cumby assumed command. The master of the *Bellerophon* was also

slain, and her decks were swept by the musketry fire of the *Aigle*, but nevertheless every attempt to board was defeated; and on the arrival of the *Colossus* to her aid, her adversaries hauled off, and a boat's crew took possession of the *Monarca*, which had again struck her colours. In her arduous and protracted resistance the *Bellerophon* had three officers and 24 men killed, and seven officers and 116 wounded. The *Aigle*, her chief opponent, lost two-thirds of her crew, among the slain being her captain and first lieutenant.

The *Colossus*, whose intervention saved the *Bellerophon* from still further loss, suffered even more; and no ship of the British fleet could show such a list of casualties. Captain Morris laid his ship alongside the French *Argonaute*, and engaged her until she dropped astern, having 150 men *hors de combat*. The *Colossus* then opened fire on the *Swiftsure* and *Bahama*, but the former fell out of the range of her guns, and soon after the Spanish seventy-four, whose main-mast had been shot away, struck her flag. The *Swiftsure* in the meanwhile bore up with the object of raking the *Colossus*, but the latter, wearing round, shot away the Frenchman's mizen-mast, and the *Orion* about the same time having brought down her main-mast, she surrendered. The *Colossus* hauled up to take possession, but in the act of doing so her wounded mizen-mast went over the side, and after

the action she had to cut away her main-mast, and thus had to meet the succeeding gale with only one mast. She had 40 killed, including her master, and 160 wounded, among whom were Captain Morris —who lost a leg above the knee, but himself applied a tourniquet, and refused to leave the deck—two lieutenants, eight midshipmen, and three other officers. Still greater were the losses she inflicted on her opponents, *Argonaute*, *Swiftsure*, and *Bahama*, the two latter having nearly 400 killed or wounded, including the captain of the Spanish seventy-four.

The *Achille* was pitted against the *Montanez*, and on her making off, she engaged the Spanish 80-gun ship *Argonauta*, which at the end of an hour surrendered; but before she could take possession, the *Achille's* French namesake and the *Berwick* interposed, and when the former passed on, the British seventy-four was hotly engaged with the *Berwick* until she struck. The loss of the *Achille* was 13 killed and 59 wounded. It was stated that the *Argonauta's* casualties were nearly 400, including her captain, dangerously wounded; while the French *Achille* had 51 killed, among the number being her commander, and about 200 wounded.

Of the other ships of Collingwood's division, the *Dreadnought*, after a brief cannonade, ran the *San Juan Nepomucino* on board, when she surrendered,

her loss being nearly 300, including her captain, mortally wounded. The British ninety-eight then engaged the *Principe de Asturias*, flag-ship of Admiral Gravina, who died from the effects of a wound he received, but the Spanish three-decker got away.

The *Swiftsure* attacked the *Achille*, which had been so severely handled by her English namesake, and shot away her mizen-mast when she ceased firing.

The *Revenge* fouled the *Aigle*, which she raked with effect, and, passing on, received the fire of several of the enemy's ships, from which she suffered severely, losing 28 killed, and her captain, three other officers, and 47 seamen and marines wounded.

The *Thunderer* assisted the *Revenge* when she was surrounded by the enemy, and engaged the *Neptune* until she sheered off.

The *Defiance* first engaged the *Berwick*, and then the *San Ildefonso*, which she compelled to strike. Thereupon the *Defiance* closed with the *Aigle*, which was crippled by the fire of other ships, but an attempt to carry her by boarding was unsuccessful, on which Captain Durham opened fire at short range until she hailed to say that she had struck. We will now turn to the ships of the weather division of the British fleet, led by the *Victory*.

Lord Nelson directed Captain Hardy to steer for the *Santissima Trinidada*, his old opponent at St. Vincent, as he divined the ship of Admiral Ville-

neuve, the allied commander-in-chief, was one of the small group clustered near the four-decker, a surmise which proved correct. The wind was light, and as the *Victory* bore down under a press of sail, with studding-sails set, she received the fire of several ships. But still she stood on without firing a shot in return, as none of her guns could be brought to bear with effect. Mr. Scott, the admiral's secretary, fell on the quarter-deck, and a double-headed shot killed eight marines on the poop. Then a round-shot, passing through the hammocks stowed in the nettings, struck the launch on the booms, and passed between Nelson and Captain Hardy, whose left foot was bruised by a splinter. Dr. Beatty, the surgeon of the *Victory*, says in his "Narrative," that they stopped, each fearing that the other was wounded, and Nelson exclaimed, with a smile, "This is too warm work to last long, Hardy."

By this time it was discovered that the *Bucentaure*, 80, carried Villeneuve's flag, but Captain Hardy represented to his lordship that it was impossible to pass through the ships clustered round her without fouling one of them. To this Nelson replied, "I cannot help it. It does not signify which we run on board of. Take your choice."

At a few minutes past noon, the *Victory*, which had lost 50 men killed and wounded, and had many of her sails hanging in ribbons, opened fire as she

passed under the stern of the *Bucentaure*, whose rigging she brushed with her mainyard-arm. Every gun of the 50 on her broadside was double or treble-shotted, and the tremendous discharge, poured right into the cabin windows, committed fearful havoc on the crowded decks of the flag-ship. As the *Victory* rounded the *Bucentaure's* stern, she received a broadside from the *Neptune*, 80, and then came into collision with the *Redoutable*, commanded by an officer with a British name, Captain Lucas, who displayed gallantry unsurpassed by any officer on that day. The British flag-ship struck the seventy-four, and then the two ships, locked together, engaged in a furious cannonade, the *Victory's* lower-deck guns almost touching the side of her antagonist. Also from the upper deck of both ships, and from the tops the conflict raged; and it was from the mizen-top of the *Redoutable*, then only some 15 yards distant from where Lord Nelson was pacing the quarter-deck, in company with Captain Hardy, that his lordship received the musket-ball which robbed England of her greatest sailor. The space between the companion ladder and the break of the poop was only some 21 feet, and Nelson, about 1.30, was in the act of turning to walk aft, when he was struck by the fatal bullet and fell on his knees.

Captain Hardy lifted him tenderly, and expressed an earnest hope that he was not wounded.

"They have done for me at last, Hardy," was the answer.

"I hope not," said the captain of the *Victory*.

"Yes," replied the hero, "my backbone is shot through."

It was even so. The ball, which had entered the left shoulder, had passed downwards and lodged near the spine. Lord Nelson was carried below by a sergeant of marines and two seamen; and an examination of the wound by Dr. Beatty showed that it was mortal. We will revert to the circumstances of Nelson's death, after detailing the incidents of the victory won by his genius.

Within a few minutes of the time that Nelson received his wound, the fire from the *Redoutable's* sharpshooters almost cleared the upper deck, but the men in her mizen-top had little cause to plume themselves on the achievement, as they were picked off one by one by the British marines; and the last of them, the man who was credited with firing the fatal shot, was killed by Mr. Pollard, midshipman, as he was descending the rigging. Captain Lucas, of the *Redoutable*, seeing that the deck was almost denuded of its defenders, directed his men to board; but Captain Hardy, who, with Captain Adair, commanding the marines, still remained unscathed, called up the seamen from their quarters at the guns, and the boarding party were repulsed without setting

foot on the *Victory's* deck. In this sharp affair Captain Adair and 18 men were killed, and 20 men wounded, besides Lieutenant Ram (mortally), and Mr. Midshipman Westphal, who was taken below and placed beside Lord Nelson, as he lay dying in the cockpit, and survived to attain a great age and high rank.

All this time the seamen at the guns were hotly engaged, and Dr. Beatty describes a strange scene that was presented in the *Victory's* quarters. He says: "A circumstance showed in a most striking manner the cool intrepidity of the officers and men stationed on the lower deck of the *Victory*. When the guns on this deck were run out, their muzzles came in contact with the *Redoutable's* side, and, consequently, at every discharge, there was reason to fear that she would take fire, and both the *Victory* and *Téméraire* be involved in the flames. Here was seen the astonishing spectacle of the fireman of each gun standing ready with a bucketful of water, which, as soon as the gun was discharged, he dashed into the enemy through the holes made in her side by the shots."

A diversion was now created by the *Téméraire*, which, in an encounter with the *Neptune*, had lost her main-topmast and foreyard. She fell on board the *Redoutable*, on which her crew lashed the bowsprit to their main-rigging and raked her with great

effect. A French account says:—"The effect of this fire was terrible upon those of the crew of the *Redoutable* who were assembled on the forecastle, gangway, and quarter-deck. Nearly 200 were placed *hors de combat.* The brave Captain Lucas, although wounded, remained on deck." The rigging of the *Redoutable* was now in flames, which was communicated to the foresail of the *Téméraire,* and the former ceased firing, when Captain Harvey despatched two midshipmen and a party of men to take possession and assist in subduing the fire.

The *Victory* disengaged herself from the French seventy-four at 2.15. Besides Nelson and the three officers named, she had two midshipmen, the captain's clerk, and 52 seamen and marines killed. The official account placed the wounded at 59 seamen and nine marines, exclusive of two lieutenants, two marine officers, and three midshipmen; but, in addition, says Dr. Beatty, the boatswain and 26 men reported themselves to him as wounded after the returns had been made up, making the total 102. The *Victory* also lost her mizen-topmast, and her fore and main-masts, and all her running and standing gear was cut to pieces.

As for the *Redoutable,* Captain Lucas describes in the following terms her condition when she ceased firing. "The masts of the *Redoutable* fell on the *Téméraire,* whose top-masts fell on board us, our

whole poop was stove in, the rudder, tiller, stern-post, quarter-galleries, and the steering-gear were destroyed, the decks were pierced by the fire of the *Téméraire* and the *Victory*, and all our guns were shattered or dismounted by the broadsides of these ships. In addition to this, two burst, and killed and wounded a great many of our men, and on both sides of the ship, the port-lids and ledges were cut to pieces. Out of the crew of 643 men we had 522 *hors de combat*, of whom 300 were killed, and 222 wounded, nearly all the staff among them. Of the remaining 121, a large number were employed in the hold and handing powder, so that the batteries and decks were absolutely deserted, and we were unable to offer the least resistance. No one that had not seen the state of the ship *Redoutable* could ever form an idea of its condition. I know of nothing on board that was not cut to pieces with cannon-shot."

The *Redoutable* and *Téméraire* now drifted along together, connected by the spars they had lost, until Captain Harvey cut his ship adrift. Soon the *Téméraire* fouled the *Fougueux*, which had engaged the *Belleisle*, and was reduced to almost as defenceless a condition as the *Redoutable*, and, after delivering a crushing broadside, the British seamen lashed her fore-rigging to the sheet-anchor of their ship, and a party of men boarded and took possession. The *Téméraire* lost four officers and 43 men killed, and

four officers and 71 men wounded. Her mizen-mast, main-topmast, foreyard, and other spars were shot away, and her fore and main-masts and bowsprit were so injured that they could not carry sail.

Next to "the fighting *Téméraire*"—which had well earned her *sobriquet* that day—was the *Neptune*, 98, commanded by Captain Fremantle, who had served with Nelson at Cadiz and Teneriffe, and at Copenhagen in command of the *Ganges*. She was some time in getting into action; and it was not till 1.45, a quarter of an hour after Nelson fell, that, after raking the *Bucentaure*, and then the *Santissima Trinidada*, she laid herself alongside the great Spanish four-decker, whose fore-mast she shot away. The latter then sheered off, but at the close of the action, when she was in a dismasted state, the *Prince* took possession of her.

The *Leviathan*, closely following the *Neptune*, raked the already much-suffering *Bucentaure*, as did the *Conqueror* also; and then, hauling up on her lee quarter, shot away her fore-mast. At length Admiral Villeneuve, with his ship a wreck, and 400 of his men killed and wounded, himself among the latter, struck his flag, and the *Bucentaure* was taken possession of by a party from the *Conqueror*, when the admiral was removed to the *Mars*, Captain Pellew having gone in search of a fresh foe. The *Leviathan* next brought the *San Augustin* to bay, and,

firing a broadside into her at fifty yards' range, ran alongside, when the third lieutenant, Mr. Baldwin, boarded at the head of a party of men, and the Spanish seventy-four became a prize to Captain Bayntun's ship.

The *Africa*, a small sixty-four, engaged the *Intrépide* for three-quarters of an hour, when the *Orion* came to her aid, and shot away her foe's main and mizen-masts, but the *Intrépide* gallantly defended herself until the approach of other ships rendered further resistance unavailing. Her loss was nearly 200 men, and that of the *Africa*—whose three masts and bowsprit were too much injured to carry sail—18 killed and 54 wounded, including seven officers.

The battle was now over, and no less than ten ships of the enemy had scarcely been engaged, while of ours, the *Britannia*, *Ajax*, *Agamemnon*, *Spartiate*, *Minotaur*, and *Prince* had also conduced little to the success achieved, though not owing to any fault of their commanders, as the lightness of the wind prevented them getting into action. The French van division, under Admiral Dumanoir, consisting of the *Formidable*, *Duguay-Trouin*, *Scipion*, *Mont Blanc*, and *Neptune*, hauled to the wind, and after exchanging a few shots with the *Victory* and *Téméraire*, which lay helpless with their prizes, *Redoutable* and *Fougueux*, made sail, and declined to accept the chal-

lenge of some of our ships to engage. The *Minotaur* and *Spartiate*, however, succeeded in cutting off the *Neptune*, of 80 guns, which surrendered after making a gallant resistance. The other four ships made good their escape, but it was only to meet off Rochefort, on the 4th November, Sir Richard Strachan's squadron of four ships, by which they were brought to action and all captured. Three other ships attempted to follow Dumanoir, but were unable to weather the British line, and bore up in order to join Admiral Gravina in the rear.

Of the 14 ships forming the enemy's van, six were taken and eight escaped; and of the 19 of which the rear-division consisted, 11 were captured, seven escaped, and one, the *Achille*, which had been engaged in succession by the *Belleisle*, *Swiftsure*, and *Polyphemus*, caught fire and blew up, when the captain and 500 men perished, out of 700 forming her crew. Of the 18 lost, half were French, including the *Achille*, and nine of that nationality and six Spanish ships escaped. Of these, four, forming Admiral Dumanoir's squadron, were captured, as we have said, by Sir Richard Strachan; and the remaining 11, of which five were French, together with the frigates, reached Cadiz in a shattered condition. It only remains for us to give some particulars of the death of the hero, whose plans had been crowned with such complete success.

On reaching the place below the ship's water-line, called the cockpit, whose darkness was only relieved by the dim light of the battle-lanterns, Lord Nelson was stripped and his wound examined, when it was quickly seen that it was mortal, and that he had not many hours to live. Throughout the period of suffering through which he passed ere he was relieved by death, his lordship's thoughts were constantly turned to his duties, and an anecdote is told by Dr. Beatty in his "Narrative," which gives a remarkable instance of this patriotic trait of his character. While he was being carried below from the quarter-deck he observed that the tiller-ropes were shot away, and gave directions to a midshipman to proceed on deck and request Captain Hardy to reeve fresh ones. After this he placed his handkerchief over his face in order that the men should not observe who the wounded officer was, as he feared the knowledge might have a discouraging effect. Lord Nelson experienced great thirst and his sufferings were acute. He frequently called for water and asked to be fanned. He sent messages to Captain Hardy to come down and see him, but the captain of the *Victory* was unable to gratify his dying chief until 2.30, an hour after he received his wound. On arriving by his bedside, which was merely a mattress from a midshipman's hammock, they shook hands, and the following conversation took place, as detailed

by Dr. Beatty. Nelson asked, "Well, Hardy, how goes the battle? How goes the day with us?"

"Very well, my lord," replied Hardy; "we have got twelve or fourteen of the enemy's ships in our possession, but five of their van have tacked, and show an intention of bearing down on the *Victory*. I have therefore called two or three of our fresh ships round us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing."

"I hope," said his lordship, "none of our vessels have struck, Hardy?"

"No, my lord," replied Captain Hardy, "there is no fear of that."

Satisfied on this point of primary importance, the admiral now spoke of himself. "I am a dead man, Hardy; I am going fast; it will be all over with me soon."

Hardy wrung the admiral's hand with a grief that could find no vent in words, and returned to the deck. Soon after this the *Victory* reopened fire upon the ships of Dumanoir's squadron passing to windward, and the concussion of the guns greatly affected Lord Nelson, who exclaimed, "Oh, *Victory*, *Victory*, how you distract my poor brain!" Nelson's sufferings now became so acute that he said he could almost wish that he were dead.

After an hour's absence, Captain Hardy again descended to the cockpit, and taking the admiral by

the hand, congratulated him on the brilliant victory the British fleet had achieved, expressing his belief that fourteen or fifteen sail had surrendered.

"That is well," replied Nelson, and then he added, with all his old spirit, "but I bargained for twenty." After a few moments he directed Captain Hardy to anchor the fleet.

"I suppose, my lord," returned the captain of the *Victory*, "that Admiral Collingwood will now take upon himself the direction of affairs?"

"Not while I live, I hope, Hardy," was the reply, and endeavouring ineffectually to raise himself from the bed, he exclaimed, "No, do you anchor."

Hardy again returned to the deck, and soon it became apparent that Nelson's last moments were at hand. Every breath he drew occasioned him agony, and yet his thoughts were of his country, and he ejaculated, "Thank God, I have done my duty." These were his last words, and at half-past four, three hours after receiving his wound, he passed away. Lord Nelson at the time of his death was forty-seven, the age at which Pitt died a few months later. It would be needless, and, indeed, presumptuous to expatiate on the merits of Nelson, the greatest seaman that not only England but the world has produced.

Monuments were raised in different parts of the United Kingdom to the memory of the hero, but the

greatest and most enduring testimony to his genius is afforded by the victories he achieved. The Nile, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar are unsurpassed in the history of maritime war, and by these achievements will his name be handed down to immortality.

The British fleet lost at Trafalgar 449 killed and 1,241 wounded, or a total of 1,690, of which no less than 1,452 fell upon 14 out of the 27 ships constituting the British fleet. The *Colossus* came first with 200 men; then the *Victory* with 159, of whom 57 were killed; the *Bellerophon* came third with 150; then the *Royal Sovereign* with 141; *Belleisle*, 126; *Téméraire*, 123, of whom 47 were slain, as in Admiral Collingwood's ship. But the British casualties were inconsiderable beside those of the Franco-Spanish fleet.

The breeze increased during the day succeeding the battle, when the fleets were employed refitting, but Admiral Collingwood failed to carry out Nelson's dying wish, and the result was sad havoc among the shattered prizes. It is a striking commentary on Nelson's prevision and seamanlike skill that of the four captured ships that were saved, three, the *San Ildefonso*, *Neptune*, and *Bahama*, had anchored, and the fourth that weathered the storm, the *San Juan Nepomucino*, had suffered little aloft in the engagement. The *Redoutable* being in a sinking state, the *Swiftsure*, which was towing her, rescued about 170

of her crew, including a portion of the wounded, but the remainder of these brave Frenchmen, together with 18 British seamen, perished in her. The *Fougueux*, being dismasted, drifted on the rock-bound coast, and was lost with all hands on board, except about a score of men, among those drowned being the prize crew of 30 hands. The *Algeciras*, having a party of seamen from the *Tonnant*, to which she had struck, was recaptured by her crew of 600 men and taken to Cadiz, but the *Bucentaure* had a more unlucky fate. Admiral Villeneuve's flag-ship, with some men from the *Conqueror* on board, was cast upon the rocks, but the greater portion of her crew was saved by the boats of a French frigate; only, however, to meet death a day or so later in the raging sea.

On the 23rd October, the second day after the action, a squadron of ships-of-the-line and frigates put to sea from Cadiz, with the object of recapturing some of the prizes, and they actually retook the *Santa Anna* and *Neptuno*. But here their successes ended, and on the following day, the *Indomptable*, 80, was wrecked, and only 100 men were saved out of over 1,100 on board, including about 500 survivors from the *Bucentaure*. The *San Francisco de Asis* drove ashore, and the three-decker *Rayo*, which had her masts carried away, surrendered to the *Leviathan*, which, standing on in company with the *Donegal*, 74, Captain Pulteney Malcolm, from Gibraltar,

boarded the *Monarca*, and finding her in a sinking state, removed her crew and the Englishmen on board. The *Monarca* went ashore during the night, as did also the *Rayo*, when many men were drowned, and the prize crew put on board by the *Donegal* were made prisoners.

The heavy weather continuing, Admiral Collingwood scuttled the *Santissima Trinidada* and *Argonaute*, and burnt the *Intrépide* and *San Augustin*. The *Aigle* and *Berwick* drove ashore, when the latter lost about 200 men. Thus of the 19 ships captured, including the *Rayo*, 14 were retaken, lost, or destroyed, one, the *Achille*, blew up, and four only arrived in safety in an English port.

Trafalgar was in every way a famous and complete victory, and one most honourable to British arms. The results were of incalculable importance to the cause of England. All probability of Napoleon carrying out the most cherished project of his life, the invasion of England, was eliminated by the battle fought on the 21st October, 1805, and Nelson died not in vain on that ever-memorable day. Trafalgar, as it is the greatest, was the last of the battles fought on the ocean between the fleets of England and her enemies, and henceforth our country remained the undisputed Mistress of the Seas.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
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